University of Alberta

Negotiating Change:
The Gentry Families of the Southwest and the Rebellion of 1549

by

Pamela Yvonne Stanton ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

Department of History and Classics

Edmonton, Alberta
Spring 2003

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Negotiating Change: The Gentry Families of the Southwest and the Rebellion of 1549" submitted by Pamela Yvonne Stanton in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in History.

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For Dan, Nicolas, Kim, and Paul

&

dedicated to the memory of

Emily Rowett Colton
(c.1886 – 1974)

who was born and lived her life on the banks of the River Tamar

ABSTRACT

In 1549, during the decades of significant religious change in England traditionally called the "English Reformation," two local disturbances, one each in the counties of Devon and Cornwall, escalated into full-blown rebellion that threatened the security and stability of the Crown. Here, in the far southwest of England, the men of the most prominent of the regional gentry families, the local governors, failed to fulfill their usual roles as guardians of law and order. Only a handful of them made little, if any attempt, to deal with the early disturbances. Historians have given no adequate account of the failure of the local governors.

The southwest local governors failed to act because action would have forced them to declare publicly their religious identities, thereby compromising or even betraying the intricate web of connection that bound them by blood, marriage, geographical propinquity, and a shared and inherited culture to the ancestors and to the living women, men, and children of their extended family group. In 1549, few, if any, of that closely linked extended family group of Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles were prepared to take that step.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to many people who assisted me during my research and during the writing of this thesis: my advisor, Dr. Lesley Cormack, for whom this gestation was her longest; Dr. Andrew Gow and Dr. Patricia Prestwich who stayed the course with me; Betty Paananen and Magdalena Gisler at the University of Calgary library who were of such enormous help; at the Courtney Library of the Royal Institution of Cornwall Angela Broome, the Librarian, who provided much invaluable assistance, and the former librarian the late H.L. Douch; the staff at the Devon, West Devon, Cornwall, and Wiltshire Record Offices and at the Westcountry Studies Library; Jan Wood, Archivist, Devon Record Office, who visited Shillingford Church on my behalf; Rachel Stockdale, Head of Manuscripts Cataloguing at the British Library; Christine Reynolds, Westminster Abbey Library; the Earl of Scarbrough; Lord St. Levan; Dr. J.A. Youings, Emeritus Professor, University of Exeter; Dr. Todd Gray, University of Exeter; David Thomas, Archivist, Cornwall Record Office who shared with me his research on the Bassett document collection; Dr. J.P.D. Cooper, University of Sussex; my parents, Dorothy and Frederick Colton, who provided a home and transportation while I commuted between Devon and Cornwall and other points east; Jennifer Hooper for her encouragement; Dr. Carolee Pollock who did not allow me to give up; many other people along the way too numerous to mention; and my family who shared every pain and to whom I owe so much.

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PROLOGUE

At Bodmin in Cornwall, around the end of May or early June 1549, following almost two decades of government imposed changes to traditional religion, large numbers of people gathered to protest yet another change – the imposition of a new Prayer Book that they thought would alter the way each parishioner worshipped. Within days, the noisy protest had become an armed rebellious group of several thousand who marched eastward into Devon towards London. On June 10, at Sampford Courtenay in Devon, a village some forty-five miles east of Bodmin, villagers vehemently protested the use of the new Prayer Book by their vicar in their parish church. That protest sparked a general outbreak of violent anti-government action throughout Devon.

Widespread and severe discontent rumbled around England in 1549. The Protector government of Lord Somerset was highly unpopular: it had introduced hated changes to traditional religion, devalued the currency, imposed new taxes, and it had begun an unpopular war with Scotland. In addition, famine was endemic in parts of the country. The protests in the southwest partook of that wide and angry discontent and exploded with the introduction of yet another change to that which was dear and familiar to virtually everyone in the kingdom – traditional religion.

The absence of firm or, indeed, any control by the local governors in Devon and Cornwall permitted the escalation of local disturbances into a full-blown rebellion. The rebels from Cornwall, some of whom had captured Plymouth on the way, joined those at Sampford Courtenay, and the combined rebel army then moved on to camp near Exeter.

The government at Westminster dispatched Lord Russell, the Lord Privy Seal, to Devon in late June to assess the situation. When Russell eventually realized the seriousness, he attempted unsuccessfully to have the local gentry, including those in neighbouring Dorset and Somerset, raise militia forces in their respective counties. The central government, which took even longer to recognize the extent of the crisis, were unable to provide him with an adequate military force because it was faced with both severe rioting in other parts of the country and a fear of French invasion.

The rebel force lay siege to Exeter, the most important town in the southwest, where they remained for six weeks. The siege was not lifted until Russell received armed reinforcements of foreign mercenary troops dispatched by the Crown to assist him. Withdrawing from Exeter, the routed rebel force regrouped at Sampford Courtenay and faced Russell's army. They were defeated in a fierce and prolonged battle during which the rebels sustained heavy casualties; over 4,000 reputedly were killed in that battle. Many more died in later skirmishes as the royal army pursued without mercy those in flight throughout Devon and into the neighbouring counties. The government continued to wreak violent retribution on the people of Devon and Cornwall for many months after the rebellion, and the memory of those events lives on in some people in the southwest today.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

As David Cressy has argued, it may be misleading to judge the "shallowness or effectiveness of a kinship system simply on the basis of easily measurable information." What really mattered was "the potency and instrumentality of extended family ties ... what the relationship was worth when it came to the crunch."[1] Extended family ties are at the heart of this study, which examines family connections and their importance in a "crunch;" specifically, the familial interconnectedness of the Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, and Grenvile families as they faced the crisis of the southwestern rebellion in 1549.[2] At that time, that group were among if not the most powerful and prominent people in that area of England.

For nearly five hundred years, historians followed John Hooker's contemporary account of the rebellion. Religion was the only cause, he said, and the local governors of law and order were cowards. Further, wrote Hooker, Sir Peter Carew was dispatched into the region at the behest of the Crown as the saviour of the 'new' religion.[3] Modern research has changed that initial picture as some historians identified more complex motives for the rebellion, thus reducing religion from the sole to the most important cause.[4] Robert Whiting argued that, in any case, relatively speaking, 'Catholicism' rapidly collapsed in the southwest after 1530 and was replaced if not totally by 'Protestantism' then by "conformism or indifference."[5] Joyce Youings questioned Carew's official appointment by the Crown and his competence in dealing with the early stages of the rebellion. Further, she pointed out that Hooker's opinion of the cowardice of the gentry continued to mislead historians who sought to understand why the local governors of law and order failed to prevent a crisis.[6] H.M Speight, alone, pointedly addressed that issue, and attributed the failure of the local governors to maintain law and order and prevent local disturbances escalating into a rebellion to paralysis of local government resulting

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[1] David Cressy, "Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 113 (November 1986), 42,49.

[2] In this work, the term 'southwest' means the far southwest counties of Devon and Cornwall to distinguish from the 'Westcountry,' which tends to mean the large geographic area west of London

[3] The starting point for the picture of the rebellion has always been the writings of John Hooker (1525-1601), one of Exeter's most well known men and an eyewitness of the events in 1549. The son of the Mayor of Exeter, Hooker became a significant local politician and a Member of Parliament. Among his many occupations, he was an agent in Ireland for Sir Peter Carew when he attempted to trace his patron's manorial inheritance. Hooker is most well-know for his writings, particularly, for his description of the rebellion and a biography of Carew, and for his collaboration with others on revising and editing *Holinshed's Chronicles* and compiling John Foxe's "Book of Martyrs." Hooker's original Book 52, "Description of the Citie of Excester," owned by the Exeter City Archives is held at the Devon Record Office, Exeter. Although Book 52 was consulted for this dissertation, all quotations are from John Vowell alias Hoker [hereafter Hooker], *The Description of the Citie of Excester,* Parts 1 & 2, transcribed and edited

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by Walter J. Harte, J.W. Schopp, and H. Tapley-Soper (Exeter: The Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1919, 1947).

Hooker's biography of Sir Peter Carew is found in John Vowell alias Hooker, "Life of Sir Peter Carew," Carew MS. 605, *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth 1515-1574,* eds. J.S. Brewer, and William Bullen (London: PRO, 1867; rep. Nendeln: Kraus, 1974). There is another version by John MacLean, *The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew, Kt., (From the Original Manuscript,) with a Historical Introduction and Elucidatory Notes* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857). The Brewer and Bullen edition is the biography cited in this dissertation.

John Vowell alias Hoker or Hooker is hereafter cited as Hooker, the name by which he is most well known to historians.

NB. In this dissertation, quotations from primary materials, including Hooker's works, are not substantially edited unless changes are required to clarify the meaning.

[4] Frances Rose-Troup and Julian Cornwall, however, continued to follow Hooker's opinion, Frances Rose-Troup. *The Western Rebellion of 1549: An Account of the Insurrections in Devonshire and Cornwall Against Religious Innovations in the Reign of Edward VI* (London: Smith, Elder, 1913); Julian Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry 1549* (London: Rutledge and Kegan Paul, 1977).

[5] Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 268. As will be seen in this dissertation, the use of 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' as definite terms is problematic. Thus, this writer, following Eamon Duffy, uses the term 'traditional religion.' The phrase is appropriate in the context of this thesis because, as Duffy stated, it "does more justice to the shared and inherited character of the religious beliefs and practices of the people." It is that inheritance that plays a significant role in the story of the family group at the centre of this investigation. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Have: Yale, 1992), 3.

[6] J.A. Youings, "The South-Western Rebellion of 1549," *Southern History* 1 (1979): 99-122.

from severe factionalism among the gentry.[7] That idea of deep division of the southwest gentry by 1549 has been a pervasive viewpoint since first proposed by A.L. Rowse over sixty years ago.[8] However, neither cowardice nor factionalism is sufficient to explain the failure of the local governors in 1549. When their familial connections are examined closely, another explanation for their absence becomes clear. They were not deeply divided as historians have argued. They had accommodated change over decades, and were bound not only by ties of family and geography but also of a shared and inherited culture, specifically, traditional religion. It was, in fact, their close interconnection, rather than their divisions that prevented them from taking action against one another. This is a significantly different interpretation of the actions of the local governors in 1549 and of religious change in the southwest, and greatly reduces the previous focus on Sir Peter Carew.

When the "proper guardians of law and order on the spot" failed to deal "promptly" with the early disturbances, local protests became a full-blown rebellion.[9] That rebellion, the rebellion of 1549, was fundamentally affected by the familial context. Family mattered on a daily basis and, particularly, in a crisis. When it came to a "crunch," their ties of blood, marriage, geographical propinquity, and a shared and inherited culture enabled them to avoid catastrophic disunity. They had negotiated and accommodated change over decades past and continued to do so at this moment of crisis.

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[7] H.M. Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall, 1509-49, with Special Reference to the South-Western Rebellion of 1549" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sussex, 1991).

[8] A.L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall: Portrait of a Society,* (Jonathan Capre, 1941; reprint, London: MacMillan, 1969). The idea of a deep division among the southwest gentry was followed by Youings, "South-Western Rebellion," Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," and by Anthony Fletcher in three editions of his *Tudor Rebellions* including the 4th edition published in collaboration with Diarmaid MacCulloch, Anthony Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, 3rd ed. (London: Longman, 1968; 1973; 1983), 53, and Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, 4th ed. (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997), 63.

[9] Youings, "South-Western Rebellion," 100-101.

A variety of methodological approaches are used to examine the family group's daily life, spatial connections, and experiences with both religious change and traditional religion to complete the framework. Their blood and marriage connections are demonstrated on the appended charts. The danger of using such a one-dimensional tool is that we do not uncover peoples' experiences of change. That problem is resolved, however, by also using other techniques. All of these factors provide the links that made the difference when a crisis came; nothing in daily life and family relationships was unimportant. By asking, "how individuals, families, and institutions negotiated" and accommodated change to avoid catastrophic disunity, we can connect the experience of living in families with larger forces and institutions - "the English Reformation" and the 1549 rebellion in the southwest.[10] For example, there was far more continuity of traditional religion within the families than has been previously supposed by historians describing a split between the intransigent 'Catholic' Arundells of Lanherne and the 'Protestant' Arundells of Trerice, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles. Equally, we can see how individuals, women and men, participated in family relationships and what difference this made to their actions and behaviours in times of crisis. Women contributed to all aspects of lived experience in these families, and were as important, if not more, in maintaining familial links. They worked with their husbands and, often, took charge in their spouses' absence – the roles of the Paston women in the fifteenth century, for example, are legendary. Their husbands, fathers, sons, cousins, and nephews did not ignore them, nor should we, even when the evidence is sparse. By closely examining the daily familial life of the Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, and Grenvile men and women it will be shown that family was important in the context of the 1549 rebellion. Without that interconnectedness, the local governors could have fulfilled their usual roles and the rebellion would not have occurred. Family mattered, and had the power to change history.

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[10] Norman Jones, "Negotiating the Reformation," *Religion and the English people, 1500-1640: new voices, new perspectives*, ed. E.J. Carlson (Kirksville, Miss: Thomas Jefferson UP, 1998), 274.

Two powerful analytical tools are applied in this study. The accommodation and negotiation of change are well-established analytical concepts, recently employed by historians such as Eamon Duffy, Norman Jones, and Eric Carlson to examine religious change in sixteenth-century England.[11] In this dissertation that concept is important to show the significance of the family group's shared and inherited culture in their interconnectedness. Gender as a category of analysis has been a successful research tool for other scholars including Joan W. Scott, Natalie Zemon Davis, and Caroline Walker Bynum.[12] Robert Whiting, in terms of the southwest in the sixteenth century, used gender to identify and track religious beliefs and practices among the lower social groups.[13] That tool is used to great effect in this work because a group of women, the Grenvile sisters, are at the heart of this study. It is through them that we make the connections to show, particularly in chapter 3, that family mattered on a daily basis and in a crisis.

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[11] Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven: Yale, 2001); E.J. Carlson, ed., *Religion and the English people, 1500-1640: new voices, new perspectives* (Kirksville, Miss: Thomas Jefferson UP, 1998); Jones, "Negotiating the Reformation."

[12] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review*, 91. No. 5 (December, 1986): 1053-1075; Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), especially pp. 69-90 where Scott critiqued E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*; Caroline Walker Bynum raised questions about the differences in male and female religiosity in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); N. Z. Davis, "Women on Top," *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: University of California Press, 1975), 124-51. The social construction of gender roles was explored in N. Z. Davis and Arlette Farge, eds., *A History of Women in the West*, vol. 3, *Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, gen. eds. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot (1991; Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1994). See also, for example, S. Annette Finley-Croswhite, "Engendering the Wars of Religion: Female Agency during the Catholic League in Dijon," *French Historical Studies* 20, no. 2 (Spring 1997): 127-54.

There are a number of crucial foci that demonstrate how this specific family group accommodated change, avoided catastrophic disunity, and failed to maintain law and order in 1549. By tracing the interconnections through the lens of family, geography, and religion we can reveal these accommodations and make sense of the events of that fateful summer. Chapter two identifies the local gentry; who and what they were, and how they were important in their locales and, at times, in the kingdom. It also traces the ways in which historians have followed John Hooker's contemporary account of the rebellion and identifies the weaknesses and distortions in the accounts that have resulted. The crucial early stages of the rebellion are described when the governors of law and order failed in their duty, and stages when two local governors were directly involved in the events. Previous interpretations of the actions of local governors are questioned, thus questioning the whole idea of a deep divide among the gentry and demonstrating the complex character of gentry relations.

Chapters three and four examine the interconnections of the family group by ties of blood, marriage, geographic propinquity, and a shared and inherited culture, focused primarily on traditional religion. The pictures revealed of family life and familial complexity overturn any ideas of lack of affection in families or ineffectual women. The minutiae of daily life become a significant part of understanding not only how these people related to each other but also how they dealt with a time of crisis. These views make it imperative that historians weigh the experiences of living in families when considering 'high politics.' Understanding how inherent were religious beliefs and

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[13] Whiting, *Blind Devotion of the People.*

practices in daily life shows even the most cynical that we cannot examine either family life or significant events of national importance without considering religion and attempting to understand what it meant to people on a daily basis. Further, not only must we refrain from applying distinct labels of 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' to well-known men, but also we must not extend those definitions or opinions to their families in general. Even more important, historians must reconsider the idea of rapid collapse of traditional religion among the leaders of southwestern society. By extension, we must bear this in mind when we talk about the imposition of religious change in sixteenth-century England.

Chapter five shows how Sir Peter Carew, the hero of the traditional accounts of the rebellion of 1549, was the exception in the familial web, both in the actions he took to quell the disturbances and in his singular lack of familial connections. He was the exception that proves the rule. Now, we must carefully weigh how we interpret the handling of the rebellion by the local governors in light of the powerful and complex picture of familial interconnectedness uncovered in this study. No longer should we focus on how the most prominent people in the region were divided, rather we must examine the continuity and connections. Family connections are thrust into the political arena, as never before, for without those connections of blood, marriage, geography, and a shared and inherited culture the history of Devon and Cornwall and even of Tudor England might have been very different.

The State of the Question

In the summer of 1549 in the counties of Devon and Cornwall, the far southwest of England, a rebellion occurred that could have seriously threatened the stability of the Crown and thus the government of the country. The uprising is labelled variously, from contemporaries who called it the "commotion" to modern historians who refer to the Prayer Book rebellion, the Western rebellion, or the Southwestern rebellion.[14] Later twentieth-century scholarship determined, quite correctly, that the causes of the rebellion were many, ranging from economics through politics to social and religious factors. Nonetheless, the title Prayer Book rebellion reflects well the time and the place.[15] The sixteenth century in England, as on the Continent, was a time of enormous religious change, and, in 1549, the government legislated the introduction of the first new Prayer Book. Traditional Latin mass was no longer lawful from Whitsunday of that year, when the service was replaced by the order found in a Book that revealed a new language and form of religious observance and practice. Ostensibly, generations of historians following John Hooker, a contemporary Devon observer of the events that occurred, understood the cause of the rebellion in the southwest to be "onlye concernyng relygyon w[i]che then by acte of p[ar]lament was reformed."[16] In effect, Hooker saw the uprising as popular reaction in Devon and Cornwall against the new Prayer Book introduced by the Act of Uniformity of 1549.

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[14] Richard Carew wrote of the "Cornish commotion," *The Survey of Cornwall* (London, 1602; reprint Amsterdam: Da Capo, 1969), 111v. Rose-Troup highlighted *The Western Rebellion ... insurrections ... against religious innovations.* Joyce Youings referred to both the "South-Western Rebellion" and the "'Prayer Book Rebellion'" in "South-Western Rebellion," 99. Eamon Duffy wrote of the "Prayer Book" rebellion in *Voices of Morebath,* 140, 142.

[15] For views of the causes as many and varied see, in particular, Youings, "South-Western Rebellion," and Whiting, *Blind Devotion.* Also, John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988; 1990), 208-209.

[16] Hooker, *Citie of Excester*, 56.

In early June, when the first unruly disturbances occurred in Devon and Cornwall, generally, the local governors failed to fulfil their usual roles. The gentry families in the regions were the local governors both unofficially and officially – the former because of their local status derived from ancestry, economics, politics, and social standing, and the latter because the Crown appointed men of those families to various government positions. The usual roles of the gentry were the daily maintenance of law and order in their locales and, in emergencies, the containment of disruption to and the restoration of law and order. In a crisis, the county sheriff was authorised to raise "'the power of the county' (*posse comitatus*)."[17] However, regionally, England still operated with a "quasi-feudal 'system' of military obligation."[18] Many prominent families, whether noble or not, had the ability to raise armed men to serve both in a royal army destined to operate within and outside England's borders and if a local emergency demanded. The Tudor Crown relied on the local governors for the maintenance of law and order in the regions, and without their co-operation England was relatively ungovernable. The failure of the southwestern governors to act to quell the rebellion placed in jeopardy the stability of the Tudors on the throne. This incident has other implications, however. An examination of the reasons for their failure to act provides insight into the ways in which the gentry of the southwest worked to contain, accommodate, and manage the religious change imposed on them by the Crown in the sixteenth century.

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[17] Guy, 169.

[18] Ibid., 97.

Unusual events leave evidence, while the far more numerous and less exciting days of 'normality' often go unrecorded. During that majority of days, months, and years, the gentry dealt with the business of unremarkable and unrecorded local governance. Gentry around the country most often addressed local grievances without word ever reaching the centre of government in London. When unusual circumstances arose, unusual measures were implemented, as was the case in Cornwall in 1548, a year before the southwest rebellion.[19] Numerous county parish records reflect the dispatch of assistance from across the county to Helston to quell serious rioting. Even across the county border in Devon, Sir Richard Edgcumbe raised armed men and rode with them across the length of Cornwall to deal with the problem.[20] Good governance and the maintenance of social order were to the advantage of everyone, and the gentry of the southwest neither failed in nor did they shirk their duty. In 1549, in contrast, the local governors failed to deal with disturbances at Bodmin in Cornwall and, about forty-nine miles to the east, at Sampford Courtenay in Devon.[21] Consequently, those local disturbances quickly escalated into a full-blown rebellion that cost thousands of lives, and required the deployment of both foreign mercenaries and troops from other parts of the kingdom. Rebellions that occurred in the sixteenth century, let alone one that occurred several hundred miles from the centre of government at Westminster, perhaps, are of questionable interest in modern scholarship. In this case, the importance to the Crown lies in the maintenance of law and order, the implementation of religious change, and the southwest region itself.

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[19] Keith Wrightson discussed the idea of a "tradition of riot" in England, differentiating between events that did not threaten social order and those that caused the government concern. In the latter rare case, the government was prepared to use force. *English Society 1580-1680* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1982), 173-78. See also Penry Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), chapter 10, "Protest and Rebellion."

[20] R.N. Worth, ed., *Calendar of Plymouth Municipal Records* (Plymouth, 1893), 115.

The maintenance of social order was of crucial importance to the Tudor Crown. When Henry Tudor defeated Richard III at Bosworth Field in 1485, he established a dynasty founded in conflict. Throughout the following century, different forms of confrontation were often required to maintain Henry's heirs on the throne of England, but social order could not be maintained practically or realistically by continuous conflict. In order to maintain stability and thereby effectively govern, monarchs needed to secure the co-operation of the local gentry, the people who controlled both the shires and the lines of communication between Court and country. Government reorganisation was an important feature of the reigns of Henry VII and of his son, Henry VIII, and each ruler sought different means to control and bind to them the most important families in the provinces. One method was the dissemination from 1536 under Henry VIII of former religious properties. In Devon, for example, shrewd royal policy ensured that the dissolved properties were granted or sold to "the most potentially powerful group in the community."[22] In that way, the Crown hoped to ensure future support for its policies and especially for those involving religious change. By including the southwest in important events such as the greatest redistribution of landed property since the eleventh century, the government could reasonably assume that the benefiting local governors would deal promptly with any threats to law and order. During the reigns of Henry VII, his son, and his grandson, Edward VI, until 1549, the local governors did respond in support of their

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[21] Mileage taken from Benjamin Donn, "A Map of the County of Devon abridged from the 12-sheet Survey" (London: Benjamin Donn, 1765).

monarchs whenever and wherever required. In 1549, however, they failed to do so and local disturbances escalated into a full-scale rebellion that had the potential to topple the government.

The southwest region was not an insignificant backwater; rather, the area was of great strategic importance to the Crown. The proximity of the coastline to the Continent made constant vigilance necessary particularly at times of international tension, which was often the case in the sixteenth century (as in August 1549 when France declared war on England). The concerns of the government were reflected in the establishment of the Council of the West in 1539, to which were appointed some of the most important men in the area, including those of the Arundell and Edgcumbe families.

The failure of the local governors to act in the crisis of 1549 may be attributed to some suppositional reasons. Undoubtedly, among the group of county men who were local governors both official and unofficial, a percentage were sick, elderly, absent from the area, and otherwise incapacitated or unable to respond to the crisis. A handful of men such as Sir Thomas Arundell and Sir Wymond Carew had careers at Court, so were not usually resident in the locale on a daily basis. That most local governors were unavailable to deal with disturbances in two counties, however, is highly improbable. Between 1504 and the time of the rebellion, at least fifty-two men, who probably were alive in 1549, were appointed as Devon justices and twenty-three as Cornish justices.[23] Usually, once appointed the men served until death. Six of those men served in both counties, but seventy-nine officials were in place as well as countless other men of the gentry who held no official appointments but who might have responded to the emergency. In the first half

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[22] J.A. Youings, "The Terms of Disposal of the Devon Monastic Lands, 1536-58," *English Historical Review* LXIX (1954): 38.

of the sixteenth century, an approximation of gentry households in Devon suggests 350 and in Cornwall about 195.[24] If men from only a quarter of those county families responded to the crisis, that number would have been more than a hundred.

Other reasons for that aberration must be sought in both royal service and self-preservation. Contemporary evidence, albeit limited and indirect, reflects the concerns of the Privy Council in London regarding the loyalty of some of the southwest gentry and their unwillingness to fulfil their usual roles of maintaining law and order. Those concerns were expressed by the Duke of Somerset and the Privy Council in two letters written during July 1549 to Lord Russell, the government commander sent to the southwest. In the first, Somerset told Russell to use "gentelmen of the countrye [county]" if they "come to you ... but onles ye knowe them fully perswayded for the matier in contraversie of relygyon gyve them not to moche credytt."[25] Two weeks later, the Council responded to a complaint by Russell that he was able "to levie so fewe [men] in Somersetshire" (a county adjoining Devon).[26] Of course, as elsewhere, responsibility for raising armed men lay with the local governors in Somerset who, it appears, were not fulfilling their usual roles, a significant point to remember when considering whether their peers in Devon and Cornwall were absent from their law and order roles.

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[23] This data is taken from Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 282-86.

[24] This calculation was made using a mean household size of 4.5, Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 22. John Chynoweth estimated 171 gentry families in Cornwall in 1531 and 205 by 1573, "The Gentry of Tudor Cornwall" (Ph.D. diss., University of Exeter, 1994), 58.

[25] Letter from the Duke of Somerset to Lord Russell, July 12 1549, Nicholas Pocock, ed., *Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549. Documents Now Mostly for the First Time Printed From the Originals in the Record Office, The Petyt Collection in the Library of the Inner Temple, the Council Book, and the British Museum* (London: Camden Society, 1884; reprint New York: Johnson, n.d.), 26.

[26] Letter from the Council to Lord Russell, July 27 1549, Pocock, 40.

In addition, a Devon man, Philip Nichols, in a convoluted and voluminous personal response to the demands the rebels made of the King, asked, "Where is the authority of magistrates without whom the public peace and tranquillity cannot be conserved?"[27] This comment could be understood as a generic statement linking contemporary understanding of the relationship between the "strength … of local government and the level of popular disorder" in the regions.[28] However, perhaps Nichols, with the passion of an ideologue and in his frustration, also directed his anger at the local governors. Further, Nichols was closely associated with Sir Peter Carew who usually is seen as an ardent early supporter of religious change.[29] Thus, Nichols' antagonism toward the rebels also may well have conveyed his desire to reflect the opinions of his patron.[30] When another of Carew's clients, John Hooker, wrote the biography and an account of the involvement in the rebellion of his patron, he portrayed Carew as the saviour of the new religion.[31] While Hooker's description of some of the rebellion, for example, the siege of Exeter, is relatively reliable, his bigoted and biased portrayal of Carew's actions in the rebellion was at the expense of the reputations of the remaining local governors. Those men Hooker considered to be "so white lyvered as theye woulde not or durste not to represse the rages of the people" and, possibly, in sympathy with the rebels, because they did not deal with the early disturbances in

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[27] For the document by Philip Nichols see Pocock, 141-93, who attributed the authorship to Nicholas Udall. Joyce Youings pointed out the mistaken authorship, "South-Western Rebellion," 115, n. 43.

[28] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 1.

[29] Rose-Troup, 105-107.

[30] Philip Nichols dedicated a book published in 1547 to "'his syngular good Maister syr Peter Carewe,'" Rose-Troup, 107.

[31] Hooker, *Citie of Excester;* idem, "Life of Sir Peter Carew," lxvii-cxviii.

Devon.[32] Carew was a patron to Nichols and Hooker, both eager supporters of religious change, who had an interest in lionising Carew. Hooker partly fulfilled his interest by vilifying the local governors, an opinion possibly reflected in Nichols' comment. Such criticism is evident also in a sermon delivered by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, after the defeat of the rebels. Whenever "the magistrates be slack in doing their office," said Cranmer, "let them look for none other but that the plague of God shall fall in their necks for the same."[33]

Periodically, for over four hundred years since Hooker wrote his account, historians have followed his condemnation of the local governors.[34] Hooker's claim that the local governors failed to act out of cowardice is easily refutable, however, and his religious bigotry and bias against the majority of the gentry is blatant.[35] Consequently, his record is highly questionable and in those terms must be treated with considerable circumspection. Nonetheless, his viewpoint survives. As Joyce Youings pointed out, his "scorn for the faint-heartedness of the gentlemen of the county (save one) can still mislead modern historians trying to discover why the situation was not promptly dealt with by the proper guardians of law and order on the spot." Although Youings also noted that Hooker later might have changed his opinion of the gentry, the damage was done.[36]

Few modern historians have explored the failure of, as Youings termed them, "the proper guardians of law and order on the spot" in 1549. Partly, this omission is because the southwest rebellion remains of little interest to them.[37] Those who do look at the event approach the role of the local governors in diverse ways. In the comprehensive and singular account of the rebellion published in 1913 by Frances Rose-Troup, the failure of the local governors in their usual roles was not an issue. Rather, she saw "that the best of the county families of Devon and Cornwall contributed to the ranks of the insurgents." This statement is exaggerated, at best, and, at worst, highly misleading.[38] In his seminal examination in 1942 of society in *Tudor Cornwall*, A.L. Rowse made no issue of the absence of the local governors from their usual roles. Rather, the structure of his tome as "the past fighting the future" neatly divided the regional gentry into 'Catholics' or 'Protestants.'[39] As such, inaction or absence from the events of 1549 largely reflected either sympathy with the rebels who demanded a return to traditional religious practices or gentry who "had to make themselves scarce, particularly if they were Protestants."[40] The anomaly in Rowse's perspective is his dismissive explanation of the involvement of the leaders of the Devon and Cornish rebel groups, Sir Thomas Pomeroy and Humphrey Arundell, respectively. According to Rowse, Pomeroy's involvement was due to lack of intelligence, while Arundell was a rebel by inheritance; he "had rebel blood in his veins" and was a troublemaker.[41] The discussion of the rebellion provided by Rowse satisfied

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[32] Idem, *Citie of Excester,* 58.

[33] T. Cranmer, *Remains and Letters: Miscellaneous writings and letters being the works of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. J.F. Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846), 2: 191.

[34] See Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall,* 263; Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions,* 50; and Julian Cornwall, 59.

[35] See Youings, "South-Western Rebellion."

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[36] Ibid., 100-101.

[37] In 1979, Youings remarked that "the rebellions of 1549, both in East Anglia and the south-west, have been oddly neglected" relative to the amount of research published on the rebellion in the north in 1536, Ibid., 101.

[38] Rose-Troup, 104. Youings commented that this statement was "surely" exaggerated, "South-Western Rebellion," 118.

[39] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 267.

[40] Ibid.

his religious agenda by providing him with examples of his larger argument. His goal was to show how Cornwall moved forward from being a backward and conservative area. In so doing, most people followed the path of Protestantism rather than stagnating with the few who remained devoted to traditional religion, that is, the "Cornish Catholics."[42] In this way, Rowse also established the idea of a deep division within the gentry of the southwest.

Anthony Fletcher pursued this idea of division in his study of *Tudor Rebellions*. His very brief examination of the southwest rebellion follows both Hooker's account and Rowse's opinions and does not advance our understanding of the action or inaction of the local governors.[43] Similarly, Julian Cornwall, while examining the rebellion more extensively, adopted Hooker's opinion of the Devon justices and applied it, unsatisfactorily, to those in Cornwall.[44] Joyce Youings considered a "polarisation" existed in the southwest by 1549. On one side were the "radically Protestant Carew circle and on the other" those associated with the Courtenays, definitely not supportive of extreme religious change.[45] Robert Whiting, in his 1984 examination of religious change

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[41] Ibid., 263. According to Rowse, Arundell's rebel blood was a result of his grandfather, Humphrey Calwodely, being attainted "for his part in the Rebellion of 1497." The idea that rebellious blood was inherited is a problematic argument given the opposition to the Crown over centuries by people significant by both their status and their numbers. For example, the document of restoration of the Arundells of Lanherne in 1503, following the attainder of Sir Thomas Arundell (d.1485) in 1483, shows the most prominent men in the kingdom were attainted: the Duke of Bedford, the Earls of Pembroke and of Devon, the Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, and Exeter, and many others, King Henry [VII], to Thomas Arundell, Reversal of attainder, 26 November 1503, AR 23/4, King Henry [VII], to Thomas Arundell, Reversal of Attainder, 26 November 1503, Arundell Archive, Cornwall Record Office, Truro (cited hereafter as CRO).

[42] In *Tudor Cornwall*, Rowse designated a whole chapter as "The Cornish Catholics." There is no chapter titled "The Cornish Protestants."

[43] Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, 40-53.

[44] Julian Cornwall, 58-63.

[45] Youings, "South-Western Rebellion," 116-17.

in the Diocese of Exeter, paid little attention to the rebellion. Nonetheless, he commented that "the rebellion was opposed, defeated and subsequently punished by members of several of the region's most important gentle families."[46] Whiting's statement is problematic because there is no satisfactory examination of the failure of the local governors to deal with the first disturbances in Devon and Cornwall. Further, Whiting's idea of opposition to the rebellion by men from among the most prominent families is misleading. Of the family names he cited, almost half cannot be considered as important as those families who were missing, in particular, the Edgcumbes, and the Arundells of Lanherne and of Trerice. Whiting cited examples spread through decades, well before and after 1549, of activities by some men of the gentry as reflective of support of religious change.[47] However, in those examples contextualization of their actions is wanting, thus limiting understanding of both the actions and the motivation. In addition, the references to the Grenvile and Russell families, for example, presumably refer only to Sir Richard Grenvile and Lord Russell, and the examples are inappropriate. Although, in one sense, Russell was a local governor, he was also Lord Privy Seal, resident in London, neither a Cornish nor Devon man, and not usually available to engage in the daily local governance of the area.[48] Further, his very recent creation as a southwestern noble disqualified him as an indigenous local governor. The Grenvile family's opposition to the rebellion appears to be based on the event in 1549 at Trematon Castle in Cornwall when rebels captured Sir Richard and his wife, Lady Maude.[49] As is discussed in chapter 2, Grenvile's actions were self-preservation in a crisis, not heroic action against rebels in the name of the King and of religious change.[50] While Whiting's focus was not a study of the rebellion, his opinion of the southwest local governors in 1549 adds to the unsatisfactory picture of them and their failure to engage with the early disturbances in Devon and Cornwall.

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[46] Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, 222.

[47] Ibid., 221-222.

[48] Lord Russell was resident in the southwest for a short time and only in 1539 when appointed President of the newly created Council of the West.

The central argument of a work by H.M. Speight is that "local government in the south-west fell into crisis in the period 1547-9," because of "unbridled factionalism among the leading officeholding gentry." The "weakness of local government, " said Speight, "was the crucial variable in explaining the escalation of localised disorder into provincial rebellion." The local governors failed because they were divided, inexperienced, and lacked the leadership of local nobility.[51] However, this picture of the southwest local governors is both incomplete and problematic with a focus only on the men who held official government appointments, and, largely, with a political perspective looking for political answers in a specific timeframe.

In his 1994 work, John Chynoweth took a broader look at the gentry of Tudor Cornwall. He correctly challenged the theory of Cornish distinctiveness propounded by Rowse and some later historians, who claimed that idea as significant motivation for the 1549 rebellion.[52] However, despite his focus on the gentry, Chynoweth ignored their failure to fulfil their usual roles of local government in the crisis of 1549. Rather, he emphasised the deep division of the gentry based on religion, thus continuing the idea that began with Rowse discussing the southwestern gentry. Further, Chynoweth commented that insufficient evidence made it impossible to measure the quality of familial relationships.[53]

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[49] Sir Richard Grenvile's singular action, as will be seen in a later chapter, was self-preservation in an emergent situation not organized opposition to the rebellion.

[50] John Chynoweth stated that Sir Richard Grenvile "demonstrated his support" for religious change by defending Trematon Castle against the rebels in 1549. Chynoweth, 174.

[51] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," iii, 5.

It is precisely those relationships that must be explored in order to address the failure of the local governors to deal with the early disturbances in the southwest in 1549, thus avoiding a catastrophic rebellion. This is not just a question of a small group of important local politicians. Those men neither fulfilled their political appointments in a vacuum nor only in a political context. The action or inaction of the local governors in the southwest in early June 1549 must be placed within the broader context of the southwest region, its local government, and relation to the central government. In addition, those men need to be understood within their social context. A social history is required not only of a group of men, but also of the closely interconnected families of whom they were a part. These families mattered – in two senses. First, this was a specific

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[52] See, for example, Julian Cornwall who titled a chapter in his work "A Land Apart." Cornwall [the county] "differed radically from the rest of England," he wrote, its "people were Celts" and conscious "at heart of being a conquered race," *Revolt of the Peasantry*, 41-42; Philip Payton, "'a ... concealed envy against the English': A Note on the Aftermath of the 1497 Rebellions in Cornwall," *Cornish Studies*, 2d s., 1 (1993): 4-13; M. Stoyle, "The Dissidence of Despair: Rebellion and Identity in Early Modern Cornwall," *Journal of British Studies* 38 no. 4 (October 1999): 421-44.

[53] Chynoweth, 93. One writer who did comment directly on the involvement of the southwest gentry in the 1549 rebellion was David Treffry, a past president of the Royal Institution of Cornwall. In his inaugural address in 1994, he wrote that his ancestor, William Treffry, "almost alone opposed the Cornish rebellion of 1549." Treffry quoted from an essay by Charles Henderson, a noted Cornish local historian. An examination of Henderson's original manuscript notes for his essay, dated 1925, reveals an identical comment to the one published in his essay and later cited by Treffry. Henderson's notes provide no clue to his source. David Treffry, "Place and the Treffrys," *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (1997): 16; Charles Henderson, *Essays in Cornish History*, eds. A.L. Rowse and M.I. Henderson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935; reprint Truro: Bradford Barton, 1963), 37; "Henderson Calendar," 210, 21 February 1925, Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall [hereafter RIC]. I am grateful to Angela Broome, the Librarian at the Courtney Library, for assisting me with the search for the source Henderson used for his comment on William Treffry.

group of people, the Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, and Grenvile families, who were among the most important, if not the most important, families in the region. Second, family relationships influenced daily lives and decisions. A close examination of their life and its connections is necessary, of the texture of life of these prominent and influential people. However, just as the men who were the official local governors did not function in a vacuum, those gentry families were not isolated from the world around them. Even when evidence is lacking, it is important to conceptualise the interactions between individuals and groups and larger social forces. This task is impossibly difficult, even when resorting to sociological theories.[54] Nonetheless, as Charles Tilly pointed out, even if done synthetically, "the concrete experiences of living in families at various points in space and time" must be related "to large social structures and processes."[55] Those links must be made regardless of both inadequate evidence and the forms, religious, economic, political, or social, taken by the larger forces.

The daily experiences of living in a family in sixteenth-century England were inextricably integrated with the larger issues and events that occurred in the surrounding world, from which a group of families living in the far southwest were not immune. Those experiences, for example, were linked locally and nationally to government. In

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[54] This difficulty is pointed out by Shannon McSheffrey, "Conceptualizing Difference: English Society in the late Middle Ages," *Journal of British Studies* 36, no. 1 (January 1997): 134.

[55] This link is an important one as discussed by Charles Tilly, "Family History, Social History, and Social Change," *Journal of Family History* 12, Nos. 1-3 (1987): 325. Among historians who have made that important link are David Herlihy, "The Family and Religious Ideologies in Medieval Europe," *Journal of Family History*, 12, nos. 1-3 (1987): 3-17; Patricia E. Prestwich, "Family Strategies and Medical Power: 'Voluntary' Committal in a Parisian Asylum, 1876-1914," *Journal of Social History* (Summer 1994): 799-818; Nesta Evans, "The descent of dissent in the Chiltern Hundreds," *The World of Rural Dissenters 1520-1725*, ed. Margaret Spufford (Cambridge: UP, 1995), 288-308. All three historians examined the influence of families in diverse ways over time and space. Herlihy wrote in terms of reciprocity between religious life and domestic life in medieval Europe - the one learning from the other. Prestwich focussed on Paris in the nineteenth century and traced the development of an institutional model influenced by family needs. Evans demonstrated that radical "dissent was a family affair" among a community in early modern England.

1549, England was in economic, political, and religious turmoil. What happened at the centre of government affected local government and the regions and vice versa. The power controlling the throne was in crisis under the Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset, who fought for his life as the year progressed. In the countryside, harvests failed again, and both rural and urban areas suffered the effects of coin debasement, new taxes, and the drain of monies and human power to supply an army to conquer Scotland. The latter was a highly unpopular policy to many of the gentry in England. Further, the government had moved quickly after the accession of Edward VI to implement changes to religious practices; a "floodtide of religious revolution was … loosed on England."[56] Most significant among that flood were a set of Injunctions, the second Chantries Act in 1547, and the first new Prayer Book legislated into existence in 1549. The southwest was no exception to this experience of upheaval. Thus, the failure of local governors to fulfil their usual roles of governance to prevent the rebellion must be weighed relative to the dynamics of central and local government.

The events of 1549 offer an opportunity to examine the process of religious change. Devon and Cornwall are not a major attraction for historians who have tended to focus, in particular, on the Home Counties where the sources are richer. Consequently, the application and effects of "the English Reformation" on the region have had relatively little attention.[57] The single published study, by Robert Whiting, focuses on one social group, the laity below the level of the gentry.[58] Further, the conclusion reached in that work supports the traditional (albeit highly contested) view of "the English Reformation" as fast and effective. Nonetheless, Whiting emphasised significant apathy among the social group on whom he focussed rather than wholesale support for religious change in the southwest. Religious change in England as a process rather than a clearly defined and finite event was late in coming to our understanding of what happened in sixteenth-century England. Revisionist scholars such as Christopher Haigh and Eamon Duffy who consolidated the idea that traditional religion was still vibrant and popular well into the late sixteenth century laid the path. Duffy, in particular, provided extensive evidence of accommodation of change in parish communities around England: from year to year and within reigns, parishioners and their priests adapted to current legislation in both practical and intangible ways. In his newest work on the southwest, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*, Duffy focused on the survival techniques, both conscious and unconscious, employed by the parishioners of Morebath in north Devon to accommodate and negotiate change. Other scholars have pursued this idea, commenting that the actual process of reform needs to be understood, the ways in which people adapted, in order "to understand the way in which Protestantism changed

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[56] Duffy, *Voices of Morebath, 115.*

[57] "The English Reformation" is cited here in inverted commas for a number of reasons: denoting the modern school of thought that saw "the English Reformation" as a definable finite event; reflecting the importance of *The English Reformation*, the work by A.G. Dickens that established the 'traditional' interpretation of "the English Reformation:" prominent anticlericalism and the rapid downfall of a defunct corrupt traditional religion and its replacement by a vibrant and widely welcomed new faith; questioning that traditional view by revisionist historians; challenging even the use of the term "the English Reformation" by Christopher Haigh; and reflecting the debate that has raged for four decades over how to

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interpret what is termed "the English Reformation." Leaders among the two sides were A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken, 1964); G.R. Elton, "The Reformation in England," in *The Reformation 1520-1559, The New Cambridge Modern History*, ed. G.R. Elton (Cambridge: UP, 1958); G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge: UP, 1972); J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984; reprint 1988); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: University Press, 1993); Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*.

[58] This comment, however, is not intended to ignore the work by J.P.D. Cooper that adds, significantly, to our understanding of the southwest in 1549. However, Cooper's focus was on the inherent loyalty of the region to the Crown not specifically on religious change. Dr Cooper generously provided an electronic copy of his thesis to this writer. The copy is unpaginated so page numbers are inserted into a single-spaced copy and noted hereafter as [n.p.]. J.P.D., Cooper, "Propaganda, allegiance and sedition in the Tudor south-west, c.1497-1570" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1999).

England." We "have to ask how individuals, families, and institutions negotiated" and accommodated change to avoid catastrophic disunity.[59]

We do not yet understand how religious change affected the most important social group in Devon and Cornwall, the official and unofficial governors of law and order. If anything defines for historians the southwest gentry in the sixteenth century, it is religious difference; "the past fighting the future" in A.L. Rowse's terms. That idea of religious conflict supports the traditional view of the group, and is enhanced by H.M. Speight's work. What is not examined is the idea of continuity of religious commitment within the specific gentry family group, rather than the dysfunctional differences. The centrality of religion in the daily lives and minds of people in the sixteenth century is a difficult if not impossible concept for most twenty-first-century minds to grasp. Occasionally, some scholars attempt to bridge that gap in understanding, as in the case of Duffy, whose work contributes to enabling the modern mind to make that mental shift. The shift is crucial, because unless we understand how central religion was to daily life before, during, and after 1549 we can understand neither family relationships, nor religious change, nor political actions.

Understanding religious change involves appreciating more than doctrinal changes. Realistically, doctrine was only a small part of the sixteenth-century religious worldview in England, as it was on the Continent, and mattered little to most people. Generally, people were interested more in their daily activities than in the finer points of theology. Religious beliefs and practices informed and shaped daily life. Baptisms provided the newborn with godparents who not only made a lifelong commitment to the spiritual welfare of a beloved child but also could provide lifelong patronage. Those rites of passage also provided an opportunity for a social gathering. Marriages, defined by the Church, often contributed to the stability of local society by the alliance of families. Will making fulfilled spiritual as well as temporal needs. Thus, understanding the complexities of doctrine and theology are less important in this work than understanding what religion meant to people on a daily basis. Religion was part of a shared and inherited culture as was the institution of the family, and the importance of that culture cannot be underestimated.

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[59] Jones, "Negotiating the Reformation," 274.

The institution of 'the family' was as deeply rooted in English culture as elsewhere; it was pervasive and resilient.[60] The official local governors of Devon and Cornwall who are the focus of this study, like their peers in the other counties of England, were not solitary individuals. They were members of families. Family connections and their effects on events like the rebellion in 1549 have been ignored, or oversimplified. Previous examinations of the local governors have been undertaken only in confrontational terms. Severe factionalism based on extreme and clearly defined religious differences, particularly as early as 1549, is an unlikely explanation for inaction within a gentry community closely interconnected by blood, marriage, geographic propinquity, and a shared and inherited culture. Further, an explanation such as factionalism reflects historians' penchant for categorization. However, as Joan W. Scott commented, "real men and women do not always or literally fulfil the terms of their society's prescriptions or of our [historians'] analytic categories."[61] A different approach to the issue of the southwest local governors will reveal both a continuum of activities and relationships, and the intricacies of a familial network. In this familial interconnectedness, another explanation for the absence of the local governors may be found. The rebellion may be considered as a significant moment for the families to reveal their interconnectedness and unity. They were a kinship group unwilling to destroy their ties, which suggests that religious changes were carefully negotiated and ambiguous. The gentry as a social group and the institution of the family survived because both were adaptable over the *longue durée.*[62]

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[60] In his examination of the family in the 1640s, Christopher Durston concluded that traditional culture was the most powerful and hostile of enemies faced by the Interregnum. Consequently, the "English Revolution did not destroy the family," rather "the family may have helped destroy the English Revolution." Christopher Durston, *The Family in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 173-74.

The most powerful keepers of the peace in Devon and Cornwall were members of the most important kinship group. Thus, the puzzle may be unlocked only by a close examination of a particular family group, in this case the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles. Not only were they the most prominent and powerful group in the southwest, but also they had significant national reputations. Each family within the group had a different and important connection to the events of 1549. They formed a close network by blood and marriage, a significant portion of which was the result of marriages by the Grenvile sisters. Further, the group contained individuals labelled by contemporary and modern historians as located at extreme points on the spectrum of religious identities by 1549.

Rather than examining the group just during the days of the rebellion, the timeframe is expanded from c.1485 to even beyond 1600. The investigation within the family group is broadened because, until now, only the activities of certain men of the local gentry have been considered in a very specific time and place. A re-evaluation is needed of the roles and activities of the local governors with reference to both the

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[61] Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," 1068.

[62] The adaptability of the gentry as a social group is the focus of the work by Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1994).

rebellion and the family group, particularly with regard to religious change. The extreme religious differences that form the current picture of division simply do not exist in the evidence; far more continuity rather than dramatic change is evident. Continuity suggests unity, and accommodation and negotiation of change. The 1549 crisis presented the family group with a test of their unity. They were not prepared to precipitate catastrophic disunity within the family group and between themselves and the Crown in the first half of the sixteenth century. A century after the southwest rebellion, gentry around England were divided in their religious opinions and took up arms despite close ties. Why was the situation in 1549 different? A close examination of this family group reveals far more continuity of traditional religion than drastic change.

Of course, the absence of the local governors in June 1549 was not only the result of family interconnectedness. The complex situation included a crisis at the centre of government, unpopular policies under the Lord Protector, new legislation regarding religious change, and social and economic regional unrest, all of which had a significant impact on the provincial gentry. These factors have been explored elsewhere. What has been missed is a solid grounding in the realities of daily life, the social fabric, and social context providing the backdrop for the participants in these events.[63]

After 1530, as before, despite governments having been overthrown, monarchs dying, rebellions, executions, and dramatic changes to both the world and the worldview of the larger community, daily family life continued; a life that, most often, reflected mutual support and continuity rather than dramatic change and catastrophic disunity.

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[63] The idea of how familial, political, and social relationships played-out in the lives of gentry families is reflected in a different time and contexts in Christine Carpenter's edition of *The Armburgh Papers: The Brokeholes Inheritance in Warwickshir3, Hertfordshire and Essex, c.1417-c.1453. Chetham's Manuscript Mun. E.6.10.(4)* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1998).

Ultimately, in everyday life and in a crisis, family mattered. To understand why and how family mattered is determined by defining 'family,' by a comprehensive examination of their interconnectedness. That investigation is launched by identifying the local gentry; regionally and nationally, their importance, and their connections with the rebellion.

CHAPTER 2

The 1549 Southwest Rebellion & the Missing Governors of Law and Order

The regional gentry were the backbone of local government for the Tudors. Once the first of that dynasty, Henry VII, had established his control, without the relative cooperation of those with power and influence in and expertise of their locales, England, probably, would have returned to the fractional and warring chaos that preceded Bosworth Field. Identifying the local gentry, who and what they were, and how they were important in their locales and, at times, in the kingdom is a significant issue. These were important people related to the King so their successes were particularly noteworthy; their failures could cost them their lives. Relating the gentry of the southwest to the 1549 rebellion is important. It was their failure to deal with the early disturbances in Devon and Cornwall, as they were expected to by the Crown, which enabled local protestors to be transformed into earnest rebels. Tracing the ways in which historians have followed John Hooker's contemporary account of the rebellion, identifies the weaknesses and distortions in the accounts that have resulted. Describing the crucial early stages of the rebellion, when the governors of law and order failed in their duty, and the events involving local governors provide opportunities to question previous interpretations of the actions of local governors, thus questioning the whole idea of a deep divide among the gentry and demonstrating the complex character of gentry relations.

Sixteenth-century English society was governed by a worldview that encompassed a hierarchical order reaching from God down to the lowliest of inanimate objects, a view that made sense of a society ruled by obligation, deference, and patronage.[1] Law and order were of the utmost importance to all Tudor regimes, which sought to maintain both peace in the realm and their hold on the throne after the turmoil of the previous century. Social disorder was a very real threat, for "Henry VIII's England was not an easy country to govern." [2] Henry himself, his father, Henry VII, and his children, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, all repulsed serious disturbances that threatened the stability of the monarchy and the country. Rebellion, in whatever form, represented the greatest fear of the Tudor crown – a complete breakdown of law and order.[3] Tudor government depended on its local governors to maintain law and order in the regions and the system of local government that developed under the Tudors depended "on the active involvement of men of all ranks."[4] Not the least among those "men" were the gentry – the social group who were the most important people in their locales after the nobility. The gentry comprised both official and unofficial local governors; those men officially appointed to positions by the Crown, and the families who were local leaders by virtue of their social, political, and economic status. As G.R. Elton commented, in terms of control in the regions, "everything turned on the gentry."[5]

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[1] Social order, as a term applied to sixteenth-century England, is heavily weighted with meanings of both hierarchy and law and order. The importance and pervasiveness of the worldview entrenched in the Great Chain of Being was conveyed by E.M.W. Tillyard in his *Elizabethan World Picture*, despite being written over half a century ago. *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1948; rep. 1960).

[2] Elton, *Policy and Police*, 4.

[3] It is important in the context of the Tudor State to distinguish between local disturbances and more significant actions designed either to overthrow the Crown or bring grievances to the attention of the monarch. For a discussion of the distinctions, see Williams, chapter 10, "Protest and Rebellion." Also, as Diarmaid MacCulloch commented, "one man's rebellion" was another's "responsible protest," *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1500* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 289. See also Wrightson, *English Society*, 173-78.

[4] A.J. Fletcher and J. Stevenson, eds., "Introduction," *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985), 18.

Although Tudor governments placed an enormous responsibility on the gentry, the social group comprised a small minority of the total population. Recognising the impossibility of precision, Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes suggested that the gentry comprised between one and three percent of the total population of England in 1500.[6] John Chynoweth estimated that gentry families comprised about 1.4 percent of all families in Cornwall in the first half of the sixteenth century.[7] H.M. Speight suggested about 2.2 percent for Cornwall, and about 1.3 percent for Devon.[8] Thus, an extremely small group of people wielded extraordinary power in regional communities.

Defining that small social group is problematic no matter the period. John Selden, a seventeenth-century writer, noted the difficulty of defining a gentleman.[9] In his late twentieth-century study of the Diocese of Exeter between 1530 and 1570, Robert Whiting defined gentry and nobility synonymously.[10] They were "the leisured," said Whiting. "Distinct from all occupational groups" they "depended primarily upon the receipt of rents [from landed properties]."[11] Whiting did not engage in a fuller or more nuanced exploration of the definition of gentry, because his emphasis was on "the laity below the level of the gentry."[12] Heal and Holmes, however, discussed the difficulties of definition. "Precision is impossible," they commented. "Flexible definitions of gentility were a necessary feature ... of early modern England," particularly given the social mobility that occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They pointed to contemporary writers who defined "the key determinants of gentle status" as "land, lordship and local acknowledgement." Among those writers was William Harrison who wrote that a gentleman had the ability to "'live idly'" on his land.[13] Whiting, it would seem, followed Harrison's definition.

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[5] Elton, *Policy and Police*, 382. Elton made the same point again when he said, "any monarch really wanting to govern needed these men if his [sic] orders and authority were to penetrate into the shires", *Reform & Reformation: England, 1509-1558* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard, 1977; 2d print 1999), 22.

[6] Heal and Holmes, 11. Wrightson suggested the gentry comprised about two percent of the nation, *English Society*, 23-24.

[7] Chynoweth, 58-59.

[8] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 22.

[9] Sir F. Pollock, ed., *Table Talk of John Selden* (1927), 50.

[10] The Diocese of Exeter comprised the two far southwestern counties of Devon and Cornwall.

Office and service to the Crown, pedigree, and "generally good behaviour" contributed to the contemporary definition of gentry. The gentry were not homogenous; great diversity existed within the social group but "basic cultural identities ... bound the élite together. A summary of the bindings reflects adherence to a code of honour, and a willingness to display appropriate 'port and countenance.'" In effect, "the gentry were that body of men and women whose gentility was acknowledged by others."[14]

The most important people in any region acquired their economic, political, and social status through inheritance, marriage, and patronage. In Devon and Cornwall in the late fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, the most important people were easily identifiable. They were the most prominent of the gentry families in the counties with a history of long residence in the area going back centuries. The Crown relied on these people not only for daily governance of the region, but also for loyal action in a crisis.

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[11] Whiting, *Blind Devotion,* 9.

[12] Ibid., 3.

[13] Heal and Holmes, 7.

[14] Ibid., 6-19.

Unlike many areas of England, the far southwest rarely laid claim to a resident noble family. Although Cornwall included a royal duchy, the prerogative of the eldest son of the monarch, a Duke of Cornwall never resided in the county. The Earls of Devon existed from time to time at the whim of Tudor monarchs, and the execution in 1538 of Edward Courtenay ended their local reign. The replacement of Courtenay a year later with Lord Russell, who became the first Earl of Bedford, gave the area a new, but a generally absent, noble family. Instead, Devon and Cornwall bred its own important families, families such as the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles, all of whom had pedigrees and land holdings, often beyond the southwest, and both reaching back centuries.[15]

The large and important Arundell family included a number of branches with the most prominent at Lanherne and at Trerice in Cornwall. Historians from the sixteenth century to the present day describe the Arundell family of Lanherne as the great Arundells. John Leland, writing sometime between 1535 and 1543, recorded the "great Arundale of Lanhiran," and, in 1564, the Bishop of Exeter wrote of "'the great Arundell.'"[16] Richard Carew, the well-known antiquarian, remarked that the "Country people entitle them, The great Arundels," a description repeated in 1916 by the twelfth Lord Arundell of Wardour.[17] In 1981, Muriel St Clare Byrne described the Arundells of

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[15] Richard I granted land in Devon to Odo Carew (Carrio) of Pembrokeshire, J.L. Vivian, ed., *The Visitations of the County of Devon: Comprising the Herald's Visitations of 1531, 1564, and 1620* (Exeter, 1895), 133. The Edgcumbes were recorded on the border of Devon and Cornwall in 1292, J.L. Vivian, ed., *The Visitations of Cornwall comprising the Herald's Visitations of 1530, 1573, and 1620* (Exeter: Pollard, 1887), 141. Speculation on the origins of the Arundells and the Grenviles follows later in this chapter.

[16] Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, parts I-III (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1964), 1: 185; S.T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons 1509-1558* (London: History of Parliament Trust, 1982), 1: 333. John Leland referred to Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (c.1474-1545), and the Bishop of Exeter referred to Sir John's grandson and namesake who died in 1590.

Lanherne in *The Lisle Letters* as "the wealthiest and most eminent family in Cornwall."[18] H.M. Speight, in the 1990s, discussed "the small elite of leading families in Cornwall" and the "greatest of these was the Arundell family of Lanherne."[19]

The social, economic, and political standing of the Arundells of Lanherne in the first half of the sixteenth century made them noble in all but name. As Carew pointed out, they received the "greatest ... love, living, and respect."[20] They were significant landholders in Devon, Cornwall and, at least, seven other counties in England. Occasionally, Arundell men attained positions with national significance as well as notoriety, the latter depending on the regime in power. In 1484, Sir Thomas Arundell (d.1485) and his cousin John (d.1504), Dean, and later, Bishop of Exeter, were indicted for high treason along with their southwestern peers, Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1489) and Sir Thomas Grenvile (d.1513), for their support of Henry Tudor and his claim to the English throne. The Arundells and Grenvile may have fled to France, to where Edgcumbe escaped.[21]

John Arundell (c.1474-1545), heir of Sir Thomas Arundell, married a daughter of two of his father's co-conspirators. His first wife was Eleanor Grey, a daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, and his second wife was Katherine Grenvile, youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvile and his first wife, Isabella Gilbert.[22] John and Eleanor's second son,

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[17] Carew, *Survey*, 144; E.D. Webb, ed., *Notes by the 12th Lord Arundell of Wardour on the Family History* (London: Longmans, Green, 1916), 11.

[18] Muriel St Clare Byrne, ed., *The Lisle Letters* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981), 1: 307.

[19] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 25.

[20] Carew, *Survey*, 144.

[21] *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1577; 1808), 3: 421.

Thomas (c.1502-1552), pursued a career at Court that enabled him to amass great landed wealth and to establish a cadet branch of the Arundells at Wardour Castle in Wiltshire.[23] Henry VIII planned to make Thomas a baron, but the King's death forestalled the event. The influence of the Arundells of Lanherne at the time of the southwestern rebellion in 1549 was sufficiently significant for the government to imprison both Thomas and his brother John. The men suffered a series of imprisonment culminating in Thomas' execution in 1552.

Although some records cite grants of land by William the Conqueror to Roger de Arundell, the first verifiable land held by an Arundell is the manor of Treloy near Newquay in Cornwall in the thirteenth century.[24] Well-endowed marriages over the centuries greatly extended their landed property to many counties in England, but it was more than landed property and economic wealth that made the family great. By the first half of the sixteenth century, their marriages had closely allied them with royal lines. The children of Sir John Arundell (d.1545) and his first wife, Eleanor Grey, were second cousins to Henry VIII.[25] The second son of Eleanor Grey and John Arundell, Thomas, by

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[22] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 3. See ancestral charts Appendix G page 343, Eleanor Grey; Appendix E pages 321 and 323, Sir Thomas Grenvile and Katherine Grenvile.

[23] In 1739, the Wardour line predominated with the marriage of the heir of Wardour, Henry, Baron Arundell, and Mary Arundell, the heiress of Lanherne. Vivian, *Cornwall*, 8. For the ancestry of Henry and Mary see Appendix B Arundells of Lanherne pages 289-305.

[24] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 2; "G. O." (likely, George Oliver) in "Arundelliana" in J.G. Nichols, *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. 3 (London: John Bowyer Nichols and son, 1834-1843), 389; Arundell Catalogue, Cornwall Record Office, Truro (cited hereafter as CRO), 11-27; H.S.A. Fox and O.J. Padel, eds., *The Cornish Lands of the Arundells of Lanherne, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2000), x, xiii-xv; J.P. Yeatman, *The Early Genealogical History of the House of Arundel, being an account of the origin of the families of Montgomery, Albini, Fitzalan, and Howard, from the time of the conquest of Normandy by Rollo the Great* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1882).

[25] Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV, was the grandmother of both Elizabeth Grey and Henry VIII. See both relationship chart Appendix G page 355, and ancestry charts Appendix F pages 343-44.

his marriage with Margaret Howard, was a brother-in-law of Henry VIII.[26] Further, the two marriages of Mary Arundell (d.1557), the daughter of Katherine Grenvile and Sir John Arundell, were, respectively, to senior noblemen in England, the Earls of Sussex and Arundel; the latter, Henry Fitzalan, was a third cousin of Edward IV. When they married, Henry and Mary Arundell also were fifth cousins.[27] Attention is rarely drawn to the complexities of the blood connections of the Arundells with the royal line. Nonetheless, royal blood did support the eminent status of the Lanherne family as undisputed lords and ladies of Cornwall. Over decades, the Crown recognized their supremacy with significant official appointments and, in 1525, offered Sir John Arundell (d.1545) a barony, which he refused. He declined the honour, he wrote, because of "his unworthiness and lack of ability to support the honor, and because the time was "too short for preparation." [28] Possibly, he had little interest in a life beyond his own estates and local boundaries and was unwilling to undertake the expense of a life at Court. Wealth in the provinces did not necessarily translate to comparable wealth at London, given the costs associated with a life at Court.[29] Further, Sir John had fulfilled a prime familial responsibility with his first marriage into the aristocracy, had not pursued a career at Court, was fifty years old at least, and a devoted family man – all factors that, likely, contributed to an unwillingness to live at Court as he grew older.

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[26] The Howard Arundell marriage is recorded in the following documents: Dispensation for the marriage of Thomas Arundell and Margaret Howard, 1530 E 135/7/25, Public Record Office; Letter from Thomas Arundell to Sir John Arundell, AR 25/13 [n.d.], CRO; Letter from John Tregous to Sir John Arundell, [n.d.], CRO; Deed of settlement, Sir John Arundell to Thomas Arundell, 26 May 1530, 2667/4/33, Wiltshire Record Office [WRO], Trowbridge; Articles before marriage, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, Ann Countess of Oxford, and Thomas Arundell, 20 November 1530, 2667/4/34, WRO.

[27] See Appendix G for computed relationship charts: for the cousinage of Mary Arundell and Henry Fitzalan, page 354; of Henry Fitzalan and Edward IV, pp. 352-54. For ancestry, see ancestry charts Appendix F page 345 for Henry Fitzalan, and Appendix B page 294 for Mary Arundell.

[28] J.S. Brewer, James Gairdner, and R.H. Brodie, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1862-1910), 4, pt. 1: 624. Cited hereafter as *L&P*.

[29] Speight suggested Arundell's retiring personality and parochialism were factors in his refusal as well as financial considerations, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 60.

While Sir John did not care to live at Court, two of his daughters, Jane (d.1577) and Mary, followed their brother, Thomas, to London. Arriving in 1536, the sisters quickly became members of the Queen's household and received marriage proposals. Soon after, Mary married the Earl of Sussex, and Jane caught the attention of Thomas Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal, as a wife for his heir, Gregory.[30] Mary spent much of the remainder of her life at Court, and Jane served in the household of at least one other monarch, Queen Mary. The ease with which the sisters became members of the Court and their attractiveness as marriage partners for the most prominent men in the Kingdom further reflects the significance of the Arundells of Lanherne well beyond their Cornish community.

The Arundell family of Trerice lacked some of the prominent status of their Lanherne cousins; nonetheless, the economic fortunes of the second most important branch of the family improved significantly as the sixteenth century progressed.[31] The Arundells of Trerice were not great Arundells, as were those at Lanherne, but they made their mark in society in many ways. Sir John Arundell (c.1439-1473/74) supported Edward IV and reputedly died while attacking St Michael's Mount, held by the Earl of Oxford.[32] Elizabeth of York, Queen of Henry VII, favoured Sir John's son and heir, also

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[30] The marriage proposed by Thomas Cromwell between his son and Jane Arundell is discussed in a later chapter.

[31] Over generations, the Arundells of Trerice lived at their manor houses at either Trerice in west Cornwall or at Efford in northeast Cornwall. No archives exist for the Trerice Arundells. The documents that would usually exist for a family of their status such as estate records, as Dr. O.J. Padel notes in the "Arundell Catalogue" (p. 6) at the Cornwall Record Office, have "disappeared virtually without trace."

John (by 1471?-1511), who was created a Knight of the Bath at the royal marriage in 1501.[33] The men of Trerice, like their local peers, fulfilled their duties as government officials, for example, as Sheriffs for Cornwall, Vice-Admirals of the West, and Justices of the Peace.[34]

The family made good marriages that placed them in the upper echelons of the local gentry. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, John Arundell of Trerice (d.1511) married Jane Grenvile, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvile and his first wife, Lady Isabella Gilbert, and Jane's younger sisters, Katherine and Phillipa, would marry the lord of Lanherne, Sir John Arundell, and his brother, Humphrey, respectively.[35] Another notable alliance of the Trerice Arundells in the sixteenth century was with the Carews. Juliana Arundell, a great granddaughter of Sir John Arundell and Jane Grenvile, married Richard Carew of Antony in Cornwall, the renowned antiquarian and author of *The Survey of Cornwall*. Juliana's grandfather, Sir John Arundell (c.1495-1560) greatly enhanced the fortunes of the Trerice family by marriage, service to four monarchs, and economic ventures. At his death he held over 10,000 acres in Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset, and bequeathed over £800 to his daughters. His wealth enabled his heir, John

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[32] According to the present Lord St. Levan, the owner of the Mount, there is no memorial or a marker to Sir John Arundell in the Chapel. In 1864, a skeleton of a very large man without a coffin was found in the underground chamber beneath the chapel, and it has been suggested that this may have been the skeleton of Sir John Arundell. The bones were removed and interred in the north court. John, Lord St. Levan to Pamela Stanton, facsimile, 20 July 2001.

[33] Carew, *Survey,* 146; Wm. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, vol. 1 (London: Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood, 1906; Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1971), 145. The royal marriage was that of the heir of Henry VII, Prince Arthur, and Katherine of Aragon.

[34] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 12; Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 255-65, 282-83, 288-91.

[35] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4, 12, 191.

Arundell, esquire (1513/34-1580), to make substantial building changes to Trerice house in the early 1570s.[36]

The alliances resulting from the marriages of the three Grenvile sisters with the prominent Arundell families, no doubt, were of great benefit to the Grenviles. Similarly, alliances with other prominent Devon and Cornish families resulted from marriages made by the other Grenvile siblings, who married with the St Aubyns, Roscarrocks, and Bassets. The exception among the siblings was John Grenvile who became a priest. The Grenviles had significant standing in both the county and the country under the Tudors. The history of England in the sixteenth century is hard to visualise without the name of Grenvile and, in particular, of Sir Richard Grenvile (1542-1591), one of the "Protestant heroes."[37] His legendary reputation together with the lesser, but still significant reputation of his grandfather, also Sir Richard (c.1495-1550), tends to dominate the history of the family in the sixteenth century. Despite the later sixteenth-century fame of the Grenvile name, they already had a noteworthy pedigree and were influential beyond their locale before 1500.

The Grenvile family home was at Stowe in northeast Cornwall. Across the nearby Devon border, the town of Bideford, reputedly, was a grant of William the Conqueror to Ricus de Grenvile.[38] The will of Sir Thomas Grenvile (d.1513) reveals that the family possessed the right of presentation to clerical livings, advowson, of at least two parish churches, one in Bideford and another at Kilkhampton, the closest Cornish village to Stowe.[39] At the end of the fifteenth century, the Grenviles may not have been among the richest of gentry families, but as Richard Carew commented, "most Cornish gentlemen can better vaunt of their pedigree, than their livelihood: for that they derive from great antiquity."[40] The Grenviles were no exception. A.L. Rowse thought the family origins obscure, but suggested that undoubtedly "the Grenvilles [sic] were Normans, and that they came raiding out of Normandy very early on – earlier, for example, than the Courtenays or the Arundells – if not with the Conqueror himself."[41] A sixteenth-century Herald's "Visitation" claimed the arrival in England of the first Grenvile, Ricus, in 1066. Roger Granville, a nineteenth-century descendant, described at length his family's descent from Rollo, a son of a Scandinavian chieftain, who became the first Duke of Normandy in the early tenth century.[42]

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[36] Trerice is now a National Trust property, and is a prime example of an Elizabethan manor house with fine interior plasterwork and a Continental gable design that, if contemporary, was in a style unique at the time in England.

[37] Haigh, *English Reformations,* 16.

[38] A.L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville of the 'Revenge'* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937; reprint 1962), 15 and 18. Roger Granville noted that the records concerning the town and church of Bideford were destroyed

During the reign of Richard III, Sir Thomas was politically active in the southwest with his relatives, the Arundells, and with Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1489), who were part of the Buckingham conspiracy to overthrow the King. As Rowse pointed out, the eventual success of the Lancastrian cause harmed the fortunes of neither Grenvile nor Edgcumbe.[43] In 1501, Grenvile, together with John Arundell of Trerice (married to his eldest daughter, Jane) and John Basset (later, another Grenvile son-in-law) was knighted

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before he published *The History of the Granville Family. Traced back to Rollo, first Duke of Normandy. With pedigrees, etc.* (Exeter: William Pollard, 1895), 78. Vivian, *Cornwall*, 190.

[39] "Arundell Wills," The Courtney Library, RIC, 88.

[40] The Grenviles, according to Rowse, "were not a very distinguished lot," *Sir Richard Grenville*, 18; Carew, *Survey*, 63-64.

[41] Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, 17.

[42] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 190; Granville, 1-15.

on the marriage of Prince Arthur with Catherine of Aragon.[44] Unlike other men similarly honoured by the King at his son's wedding, Grenvile did not take advantage of the opportunity to further enhance the fortunes of his family by pursuing a career at Court.[45] Those careers were left not only to his grandson and great great grandson, but also to his second youngest daughter, Honor, sister of Katherine and Jane, the matriarchs of the senior Arundell families.

Honor Grenvile made two marriages to prominent men. The first in 1515 to Sir John Basset, a leading member of the gentry with landed estates in both Devon and Cornwall.[46] After Sir John's death in 1528, Honor married Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle, an illegitimate son of Edward IV and uncle of Henry VIII.[47] Arthur's appointment as Governor of Calais resulted in the Lisles living on the Continent for almost a decade. Their position frequently placed them at the forefront of Court activities both at London and in France, enabling them to cultivate relationships with French noble families and to dispense familial patronage. For example, Honor's nephew, Sir Richard Grenvile (d.1550), became Marshall of Calais under his uncle. Sir Richard gained enormous advantage from his relationship with his aunt, reflecting that family importance was not always the result of the activities of men. Despite the relative dearth of evidence, women often greatly enhanced the family's status.

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[43] Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, 19.

[44] Shaw, 145.

[45] Rowse commented that through his appointment by Henry VII, Sir Thomas had the opportunity to enhance his family fortunes but did not take it as did "David Cecil, Burghley's grandfather," *Sir Richard*, 19. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was a prominent councilor during the reign of Queen Elizabeth and helped shape that regime.

[46] HB/5/83 and HB/5/84, "Basset Muniments Bundle gb No. 2," Courtenay Library, RIC.

The prominence of the Edgcumbe family under the Tudors began with the activities of Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1489). He began a political history for the family that often brought them to the attention of historians. As G.E. Cokayne commented, between the mid-fifteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries "a Piers or a Richard Edgcumbe [the alternating names of the son and heir] has been present in nearly every parliament for which returns have been found."[48] Sir Richard actively supported Henry Tudor's claim to the English throne, consequently, as Henry VII, the King rewarded him well and made him a prominent member of the royal court. Appointed as Controller of the Royal Household, Edgcumbe was also a roving ambassador at foreign courts. In the following centuries, other Edgcumbe men undertook local and national official positions, so the elevation of the family to the peerage in 1742 was not surprising.[49]

Sir Richard Edgcumbe's support for Henry Tudor in 1485 considerably enhanced the fortunes of the family, particularly with the grant of lands of the attainted Sir Henry Bodrugan and Lord Zouch.[50] In addition, the marriage in 1493 of Sir Richard's son and

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[47] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 191.

[48] G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland and Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom: extant, extinct or dormant*, (1936), 9: 315. In terms of the first names of the Edgcumbe male heirs, Richard Carew of Antony a great great grandson of Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1489), wrote that the names "Peers and Richard" had "successively varied in the Edgcumbe family "for six or seven descents [generations]," Carew, *Survey*, 100v.

[49] The exact circumstances of the elevation to the peerage of Sir Richard Edgcumbe in 1742 may well have been not very flattering. According to L.C. Sanders, the peerage was granted to prevent Edgcumbe "being examined by the secret committee concerning the management of the Cornish boroughs." As Sanders commented, however, Edgcumbe was likely tainted but only "with the political corruption of the age." Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917; reprint 1949-50), s.v. "Edgcumbe, Richard, first Baron Edgcumbe (1680-1758)" by L.C. Sanders. Cited hereafter as *DNB*.

[50] The grant of manors and lordships of the attainted Lord Bodrugan were made 1488 to "Sir Richard Eggecombe, Kt, Comptroller of the King's Household," Sir Richard Eggecombe, Grant, 12 May 1488, ME 622, Edgcumbe Archives, CRO; Richard Polwhele, *The History of Cornwall civil, military, religious, architectural, commercial, biographical, and miscellaneous* (1803-1808; reprint Dorking: Kohler and Coombes, 1978), 2: 48.

heir, Piers, to Joan Dernford (Durnford) brought to the Edgcumbes not only the Stonehouse lands on both sides of the River Tamar, but also the lands of the Rame peninsula that eventually became Mount Edgcumbe Park.[51] Joan was a sister-in-law by marriage to Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne (d.1485).[52] A subsidy assessment shows that in 1526 Sir Piers Edgcumbe (d.1539) was a very wealthy man in Cornwall.[53] Piers faithfully served the Crown as a local governor as did his eldest son, Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1561/62). While not as prominent at Court as his grandfather and namesake, he was sufficiently significant to the government that "during Q. Ma. [Queen Mary's] raigne, [Sir Richard] entertained at one time, for some good space, the Admirals of the English, Spanish, & Netherlands fleets, with many noble men besides."[54] Thomas Fuller commented that the "passage [was] the more remarkable, because" he "was confident that the admirals of those nations never met since (if ever before) amicably at the same table."[55] A link between the presence of the admirals and "preparations for the marriage" of Mary with Philip of Spain seems likely, thus reflecting Sir Richard's status with the Queen.[56] The status of the Edgcumbe family is reflected, also, in a royal

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For the "Writ to Richard Eggecombe, kn[igh]t, for the arrest of Henry Bodrugan ... and others, who ... stir up sedition and rebellion" see A.F. Pollard, ed., *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Greens, 1913; New York: AMS, 1967), 46-47.

[51] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4, 141. See ancestry chart Appendix D page 317, Sir Piers Edgcumbe. The River Tamar for much of its course forms the boundary between Devon and Cornwall.

[52] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 141. Oliver Dinham was the first husband of Joan Dernford. Oliver was a brother of Catherine Dinham, the wife of Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne.

[53] Chynoweth, 63.

[54] Carew, *Survey*, 100.

[55] According to Thomas Fuller, the gathering of the admirals occurred in 1555, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: 1652; London: Thomas Tegg, 1840), 1: 303.

[56] Cynthia Gaskell Brown, *Mount Edgcumbe: House and Country Park* (1998), 16

summons to Court of his stepmother, Katherine Edgcumbe. Within weeks of becoming a widow in late 1539, she was appointed to the Privy Chamber of the new Queen, Anne of Cleves.[57] Lady Edgcumbe's call to Court so soon after the death of Sir Piers suggests the appointment may have been a last honour aimed at recognising both his decades of service to the Crown and the significance of the family to the King and in the region.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Edgcumbes were far wealthier than were the Carews, their close neighbours and kin. The Carews at Antony, together with their cousins in Devon, formed a family with a significant pedigree and history. Like some of his contemporary antiquarians, Richard Carew sought Norman origins for his family.[58]

> The Carew genealogy is traceable back to the eleventh century … From Otheus, Constable of Windsor before 1066, there were Welsh, English, and Irish Carew descendants. His grandsons received grants of English lands and one, Gerald, Constable of Pembroke, c.1100 married Nesta, daughter of Rees ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales. Nesta brought as dowry the royal demesne of Carew in south Pembrokeshire. The ruins of Carew Castle stand east of Pembroke and structures on that site date back to pre-Roman times. The Castle was mortgaged during Sir Edmund's life to Sir Rhys ap Thomas, but returned to Carew ownership in the seventeenth century. The family held the barony of Carew by 1300 from the Earldom of Pembroke. Richard I granted Devon lands to Odo Carew, and subsequent generations added lands often by marriage including Mohun's Ottery.[59]

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[57] Sir Piers died 14 August 1539, Vivian, *Cornwall*, 141. Anne of Cleves and Henry VIII were married 6 January 1540 and divorced by mid- July the same year, J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Berkeley: University of California, 1968), 370, 373. There are numerous references in the State Papers to Lady Katherine Edgcumbe, widow of Sir Piers, in the context of her position at Court. On November 3, 1539, Lord Russell wrote to Thomas Cromwell, that "Lady Edgcumbe" had "received Cromwell's Letters and will repair to his Lordship with speed." On November 10, Cromwell recorded "The coming of the lady Edgcumbe." Formal record of "The Queen's Household" lists Lady Edgcumbe as one of the "Ladies of the Privy Chamber." During the collection of evidence for the case to obtain the King's divorce from Anne, Lady Edgcumbe was one of the three ladies who provided a deposition. The document, dated July 7, 1540, affirmed their conversation with the Queen, who informed them her marriage was not consummated. Lady Edgcumbe was in attendance on July 11, 1540 "in the palace at Richmond ... [when] Anne ... freely signed certain letters of consent to the ... divorce ... This was done in the presence of ... ladies Joan Rocheforth and Catherine Egecombe, widows." *L&P*, 14, pt. 2: 455, 494; 15: 21, 850 (14), 872 (3).

[58] Carew, *Survey*, 64, 103-104.

Carew marriages connected them to important English families, including the Earls of Devon. Sir Edmund Carew (d.1513) of Mohun's Ottery

> married Katherine Huddesfield, daughter of Sir William Huddesfield (d.1499), Attorney General to Edward IV. Many of Edmund and Katherine's sons and grandsons were prominent men in their respective fields. One son, Sir George (1498-1583), was Dean of Windsor, and his son, George, was Baron of Clopton and Earl of Totnes (1555/6-1629). Their grandson, Admiral Sir George Carew (b.1501/02), drowned on the Mary Rose in 1545 and another, Sir Peter (1512-1575), gained fame and notoriety because of his exploits during both the 1549 rebellion and Wyatt's rebellion in 1554. In addition, Katherine and Edmund were the great grandparents of Sir Humphrey Gilbert (d.1583) and of Sir Walter Raleigh (d.1618).[60]

Sir Edmund supported Henry Tudor's claim to the throne, and established a familial tradition of service to the Tudor Crown both at Court and in local government. He lost his life in the service of Henry VIII in 1513, when he was killed at the siege of Thérouanne.[61] His descendants, Sir Peter Carew and Richard Carew of Antony, are better known to historians than Edmund. Equally, neither Richard's grandfather, Sir Wymond Carew, nor Sir Peter's father, Sir William Carew, caught the attention of historians. Sir William continuously served his monarch in official capacities in local government from about 1513 until his death c.1536, but had a relatively unremarkable life in terms of enhancing his family's status. That advancement was left to his sons.

By comparison, his Cornish cousin, Sir Wymond Carew of Antony, had a varied life in government service. Periodically from 1514, he was a Justice of the Peace in Devon and in Cornwall. In 1529, he obtained an appointment with the duchy of Cornwall

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[59] This material is extracted from "Carew, Sir Edmund (c.1464-1513)" and accepted for publication. Stanton. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [*ODNB*] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2004).

[60] Ibid.

[61] *L&P,* 1, pt. 2: 1057; Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth* (1653; 1988), 36.

resulting from the patronage of the Duchy's Receiver, Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1545). In addition, Sir Wymond was a member of the households of two queens, Jane Seymour and Anne of Cleves, and he was the Treasurer of the Court of First Fruits and Tenths from 1545 until his death in 1549. His appointments at Westminster, undoubtedly, were the result of the influence of Sir Anthony Denny, the father of Wymond's wife, Martha.[62] Denny was no minor Court official. As G.R. Elton noted, in 1543 ascendancy in the Privy Chamber "was passing to Sir Anthony Denny." By the mid-1540s, with a factional struggle for power taking place around an ailing King, Denny was among the most important people around the throne. In the last months of the King's life, Denny controlled access to the monarch as head of his Privy Chamber and the use of the King's signature as keeper of the dry stamp. Sir Anthony rose to power during Thomas Cromwell's years, and was one of the most important men surrounding the King for almost two decades.[63] Denny's wife, Joan (or Jane), was a daughter of the Champernowne (Champernon) family in south Devon. Joan's mother, Catherine Carew, was Sir Peter Carew's aunt, and her son-in-law, Wymond, was her cousin.[64] Royal favour was not the prerogative of just one Carew in the first half of the sixteenth century. Wymond's cousin, Sir Peter Carew of Mohun's Ottery, found favour at royal courts on the Continent and with both Henry VIII and his daughter, Elizabeth.

From the beginning of Henry VII's reign until 1549 and beyond, men of the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles were Sheriffs of Devon and of Cornwall and Justices of the Peace, in addition to many other local and national important appointments. Further, some of the women in the families held positions in royal households, married prominent men, and participated with their husbands in the affairs of family. Some such as Honor Grenvile actively engaged in the management of the family estates. Between them all they governed the southwest, and served their monarchs in official positions at the pleasure but, always, at the whim of whoever was in power at London. There were, of course, other prominent families in Devon and Cornwall, whose men held government positions and whose women sometimes went to Court – families such as the Bassets, Chamonds, Champernownes, Courtenays (Courtneys), Pomeroys, Roscarrocks, St Aubyns, and Tregians – all of whom were allied by marriage with one or more of the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles.

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[62] Bindoff, 1: 581-82; Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 261, 263, 273, 276, 282, 284; Hooker, "Life of Sir Peter Carew," lxxxiii; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 68.

[63] Elton, *Reform & Reformation*, 301, 330, 329; Haigh, *English Reformations*, 127; *DNB*, s.v. "Denny, Sir Anthony," by Thompson Cooper.

[64] Vivian, *Devon*, 134, 135, 162; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 68. See relationship chart Appendix G page 358.

Some men in the extended family group were always more active than others as officially appointed governors of law and order.[65] Regardless of their levels of service, in 1549 the men in the family group were expected to deal with the local disturbances in Devon and Cornwall that presaged the rebellion. Ample evidence shows the traditional loyalty to the Tudor Crown of the men of this prominent gentry family group, even at times of crisis. Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, and Grenvile men openly supported Henry Tudor's claim to and eventual hold on the English throne. In 1497, the King rewarded Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1545) for his services against the rebels during the Cornish rebellion.[66] Only weeks later, Sir Edmund Carew and Sir Piers Edgcumbe were among the southwestern men who raised a royal army against rebels led by Perkin Warbeck attempting to overthrow Henry VII.[67] In 1536, men of the southwest gentry raised militia for the royal army that opposed the northern rebels.[68] In 1547, local governors had dealt with protests in Cornwall, and in 1548 gentry-led militia contained serious rioting against Crown policies in Cornwall. The Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, and Grenvile men, and their families served for much of their lives as local governors of law and order and, often, as important officials at Court and abroad. The record of their substantial, continuous, and loyal service to the Crown over generations raises a significant issue – the absence of the local guardians of law and order in the crisis of 1549.

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[65] For a list of local government service of the men of the southwest gentry in the first half of the sixteenth century see, Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 255-303.

[66] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office Henry VII*, vol. 2, *1494-1509* (London: HMSO, 1914-16), 107. Although the record does not state that it was Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, he is stated as being "John Arundell kn[igh]t for the body." There is no evidence to suggest that Sir John Arundell of Trerice (d.1511) held the same honour.

Before the rebellion in 1549, the most recent unrest in the southwest took place in Cornwall in 1547 and 1548, when rioting and murder occurred. Those serious incidents arose from events that began a decade earlier when William Body, a layman with a dubious reputation in the service of Cromwell, leased the archdeaconry of Cornwall with all its benefits.[69] In a general climate of unrest and superstition over religious changes in

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[67] Polwhele, 53-55.

[68] *L&P*, 11, 232-33, 261. The men included the Lanherne brothers, John and Thomas Arundell, Piers Edgcumbe, John Arundell of Trerice, and Thomas and George Carew.

[69] Body was ambitious and ruthless and not known, seemingly, for his finesse in his dealings with people. He antagonized clergy in the Diocese of Exeter when they challenged the legality of the transfer to him in 1537 of the archdeaconry of Cornwall from Thomas Wynter, illegitimate son of Cardinal Wolsey. A decade later, Body was involved as a government official in the implementation in Cornwall of Edwardian government religious policies. Rather than handling the work sensitively, as the government apparently wanted, Body employed his own techniques. For his own convenience in 1547, he called together all necessary parties, churchwardens, constables, and clergy, in the region to one place rather than visiting them in their own locales. Further, at that time instead of clearly indicating that an inventory of church goods was to be taken, apparently, he gave the impression that the goods would be confiscated. The negative response to Body's actions resulted in a report to the central government by some local governors and Body's censure. Consequently, when Body appeared in the same region the following Spring to implement government changes to religious practices he was met with outright hostility from local people who gathered to oppose him.

Rose-Troup provided a lengthy description of the events leading up to those involving Body's murder. However, her description should not be read without reference to Arthurson's reassessment of the events. Rose-Troup, 47-79, 416-18; Ian Arthurson, "Fear and Loathing in West Cornwall: Seven New late 1547 and the following spring, Body exacerbated the situation by further alarming people with his aggressive attempts to enforce government changes, particularly the removal of images from churches in Cornwall. His actions prompted violent reaction from some people in the western part of the county. In late 1547, local justices had dealt with the anger displayed against Body. "Sir William Godolphin, Sir John Milton, and Sir Tomas Saulavin [St Aubyn]," were thanked in a letter from the Privy Council "for their paines taken in appeasinge the tumulteous assembly of the parisheoneres of Penwith." The Council condemned Body's actions, and censured him.[70]

Appeasement was not possible a few months later in parishes in and around Helston, when Body returned to pursue his "iconoclastic mission." Despite sparse evidence, seemingly, unrest among the people escalated as they gathered together and demanded "all suche lawes and ordynances touchyng cristian religion as was appoynted by our late Soueraigne lord Kyng Henry theight until the kynge maiestie that now is accomplish thage of xxiiij years."[71] That demand was echoed a year later by the leaders of the rebel army. Body was murdered during the disturbances at Helston in April 1548 when, reputedly, thousands of people were involved in protests.[72] In the aftermath of those disturbances, the Privy Council conveyed to local governors the King's regard for

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Letters on the 1549 Rising," *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (2000): 68-96. See also W.J. Blake, "The Rebellion of Cornwall and Devon in 1549," *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* 18 pt 1 (1910): 163-64; Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall,* 253-57; Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions,* 40-41; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars,* 456-58.

[70] J.R. Dasent, ed. *Acts of the Privy Council of England.* n.s. (London: HMSO, 1890-94), 2: 535-36. Cited hereafter as *APC.*

[71] Rose-Troup, 74, 80

[72] Arthurson, 77; Rose-Troup, 81.

their "good diligence and wise and ernest proceding in the stay of that seditious commotion."[73]

Richard Carew saw that violent event as the origin of the 1549 rebellion.[74] In 1547 and 1548, however, the local governors appeared to have responded to the disturbances in appropriate and timely fashion. Despite both the seriousness of the situations and the large numbers of demonstrators, local government fulfilled its usual role and contained the events. Militia were raised across both the county and the border in 1548 and sent to Helston. A number of parish records show payments to men for their wages and horses.[75] From Plymouth, Sir Richard Edgcumbe gathered armed men and led them across Cornwall to assist in pacification.[76] In 1547 and 1548, local governors reacted to events in the region in a timely manner acceptable to the government.

The records are sparse in terms of both the events and identifying specific local governors involved in the pacification in Cornwall in 1547 and in 1548. Sir William Godolphin, John Milton (Milliton), and Thomas St Aubyn acted in 1547. In 1548, at least eleven local governors acted. In addition to Godolphin, Milton, and St Aubyn, the men who acted were Sir John Arundell of Trerice, Sir Richard Grenvile, Sir Hugh Trevanyon, John Reskymer, Richard Chamond, Richard Buller, John Trelawny, and Sir Richard Edgcumbe. After the turmoil, Sir Richard Grenvile and his uncle, Thomas St Aubyn, were among the men appointed to a commission of enquiry.[77] The two men's cousins, Richard Chamond and Humphrey Arundell, and Grenvile's brother, Degory, sat on the Grand Jury that tried the rioters.[78] Before the enquiry and prosecutions, however, local governors dealt with the incidents, crossing the county, as did Edgcumbe when the need demanded. Even if the limited official records exaggerated the number of people involved in the protests, the 1548 events were serious; a Crown agent was murdered, and people violently challenged law and order.[79] The potential always existed for far more than local protests against the government but, in the end, the local governors did contain the disturbances.

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[73] The men named were Sir William Godolphin, Sir Hugh Trevanyon, Sir Richard Grenvile, John Milliton, John Reskymer, Thomas St. Aubyn, Richard Chamond, Richard, Buller, John Trelawny, and Sir John Arundell of Trerice. Reskymer Papers S.P. 46/58 f. 5r, Reskymer Letters, CRO, printed in Arthurson, 88.

[74] Carew, *Survey,* 98.

[75] Rose-Troup, 82-83.

[76] "Receiver's Accounts called 'The Old Audit Book,'" [for the Borough of Plymouth], W130, f 246, 249v, West Devon Record Office [cited hereafter as WDRO], Plymouth. Arthur Norman was transcribing the account book and, generously, he allowed me to look at his work.

Local governors in England, generally, were reluctant to seek assistance from London, preferring "at almost any cost, to deal with local outbreaks of disorder through their own resources."[80] It was in their own best interests, as well as those of the Crown and the country, for them to maintain law and order. Local disturbances always had the potential to escalate into serious violence. None of the Tudor monarchs found England an easy country to govern. Henry VII, however, broke the regional power of the nobility, and "resumed control of the machinery of justice and government."[81] He tied to the Crown the most important families in the regions and, by 1500, had power over most areas. With the bestowal of royal offices came territorial power, so allegiance to the King was no small matter.[82] By 1549, the Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, and Grenvile families had a long history of loyalty to the Tudor Crown. Together with a few other prominent families, they governed Devon and Cornwall. Their willingness and ability to fight for and serve the King in their locales and abroad was evident, until 1549. Only months before the disturbances in the southwest in 1549, the men of the gentry were active in containing similar events. If, as H.M. Speight suggested, southwestern local government was paralysed in 1549, that paralysis was not evident in the months previous thus questioning the nature of the events in 1549 that prevented the local governors from enforcing law and order. In any event, what roles did the Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, and Grenvile families play in the early summer of 1549 when local disturbances escalated into a full rebellion?

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[77] Arthurson, 88; Rose-Troupe, 84; Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 258.

[78] Rose-Troupe, 85; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 438.

[79] The indictments of those who murdered William Body suggest that over 1,000-armed people were gathered at Helston on the day Body died and, possibly, thousands more shortly thereafter. Despite possibly unreliable numbers and a far from complete record of the events, the record does suggest that the government considered it a serious situation. *APC*, 2: 182; Rose-Troup's account should not be read uncritically, 70-98; Arthurson, "Fear and Loathing in West Cornwall."

[80] Fletcher and Stevenson, 29.

[81] Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, 6.

Two distinct and independent events occurred in the early summer of 1549, the first in Cornwall and the other in Devon. At Bodmin, an important Cornish market town, the spark had occurred by 6 June 1549.

[83] The limited evidence suggests unrest among some people at Bodmin including the Mayor, Henry Bray, all of whom seemingly objected to the impending new Prayer Book. From eighteen-century evidence, Davies Gilbert noted both the Mayor's objection and the imprisonment of some protestors by local unnamed justices, but provided no evidence.[84] That there were rebels at Bodmin is not in question. The Cornish leader of the

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[82] See Williams, 3-9.

[83] The June date is cited in the indictment of the leaders of the rebels, Rose-Troup, 347.

[84] Davies Gilbert's nineteenth-century history is a one sentence account based on two eighteenth-century manuscripts, one written by William Hals and the other by Thomas Tonkin. Hals' description of the Bodmin disturbances is brief, uninformative, and, probably, merely embellishes Richard Carew's scant

rebels, Humphrey Arundell, in his confession in the Tower some months after the rebellion, stated that rebels came from Bodmin and forced him to go with them.[85] Further, the indictment of the captured rebels in November 1549 stated that they had assembled at Bodmin.[86] In the absence of a record it is impossible to know what exactly happened. The Cornish knew, as well as their Devon neighbours, of the impending introduction of the first English book of common prayer; they had known for six months.[87] It would be disingenuous, however, to say that what happened at Bodmin was not motivated by opposition to the changes to traditional religion that had occurred for well over a decade. Nonetheless, whether there was a seething "war of religion" as implied by Rose-Troup and Julian Cornwall is arguable, particularly, as the sole cause of the rebellion. Serious social discontent troubled many if not all parts of England at the time. Opposition to government policies and religious change, and poor harvests caused violent uprisings in many regions including the southwest.[88] That serious unrest was

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references to the 1549 rebellion in his *Survey of Cornwall.* Modern historians, Frances Rose-Troup and Julian Cornwall, discussed the beginning of the rebellion at Bodmin using Carew's information, and Rose-Troup appears to have followed Gilbert's description. Davies Gilbert, *The Parochial History of Cornwall* (London: J.B. Nichols, 1838), 1: 88; 2: 191, 193; Charles Thomas commented on the unreliability of William Hals as a historian in J. Polsue, ed., *Lake's Parochial History of the County of Cornwall*, vol. 1 (Truro: W. Lake, 1867-73; Wakefield, York: EP, 1974), xi; Carew, *Survey,* 98, 111v-112, 124; Rose-Troup, 122-28; Julian Cornwall, 56-58.

[85] C.S. Knighton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the reign of Edward VI 1547-1553* (revised ed. London: HMSO, 1992), 152.

[86] Rose Troup, 347.

[87] The first Act of Uniformity dated "2&3 Edw. VI" was passed by Parliament in January 1549, and received royal assent in March. J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents A.D. 1485-1603 with an historical commentary* (Cambridge: University Press, 1922; 2 ed. rep., 1948), 112; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars,* 464.

[88] Undoubtedly, there were commonalties as well as regional differences in the protests around England in 1549. With respect to Cornwall, Arthurson's work is significant because he raised the idea of local disaffection resulting from not only the actions of William Body but also from those of a member of the local gentry, John Reskymer. Both men, Arthurson commented, were "avaricious and ambitious." Arthurson, 74.

evident in the rioting of the previous year in west Cornwall. While no gentleman, apparently, were involved in those events, only weeks before the rebellion, "certain gentlemen" of Cornwall expressed severe dissatisfaction with religious change. The dissolved religious house at Penryn was sold "together with the lead steeple and bells of the same, and all the prebendary houses thereto belonging." The government commissioners appointed to oversee the sale reported that "proceedings" were "now being taken by certain gentlemen of that county, to have the sale cancelled, and the church (which has already been in great part dismantled) converted into a parish church."[89]

John Hooker's Devon-centric account of the rebellion, written some three decades later, ignored the first disturbances at Bodmin.[90] "I the writer was psent and *testis oculatus* [a witness with my own eyes] … It is apparent and moste certeyne," said Hooker, "that this rebellion firste was raised at a place in Devon named *Sampford Courtenaye*."[91] The omission of the Bodmin disturbances by Hooker is not surprising. His interest lay only in extolling the virtues of his hometown of Exeter, of his Devon patron, Sir Peter Carew, and of religious change. Local opposition at Sampford Courtenay (twenty-three miles northwest of Exeter) in Devon after the introduction of the new Prayer Book on June 9 provided Hooker with a perfect scenario to portray the struggle of his creed.[92] In addition, the objections of the Sampford people gave him a single cause for the rebellion, one that was close to his heart. The "cause thereof ... was onlye concernynge relygyon," said Hooker,

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[89] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury ... : preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, Historical Manuscripts Commission* (London: HMSO, 1883-1976), 1: 74.

[90] Hooker, *Citie of Excester*. Youings pointed out this and other problems with Hooker's account in "South-Western Rebellion," 99. When Richard Carew wrote his *Survey of Cornwall* in the late sixteenth century, he recorded that "Bodmyn" was the "convenient and usual places [sic] of assembly for the whole County." The town's traditional importance in Cornwall before Carew's writing is reflected in other of his comments, *Survey*, 86, 88-88v.

[91] Hooker, *Citie of Excester*, 55.

> w[hi]che then by acte of plament was reformed and to be put in exequution on whytesonedaye the nynthe of Iune. The w[hi]ch daie beinge nowe come and the statute made for the same to be putt in exequution throughoute the whole realme."[93]

The "statute" was the first Act of Uniformity that stated

> a book entitled The Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other rites and Ceremonies of the Church after the Use of the Church of England ... to be used throughout England and in Wales, at Calais, and the marches of the same, or other [of] the King's dominions, shall form and after the Feast of Pentecost next coming be bounden to say and use ... in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book and none other or otherwise.[94]

Accordingly, the new Prayer Book was introduced into the churches in the realm on June 9 1549.

When the priest at Sampford Courtenay prepared to use the new service again the following day he met with opposition from some of the parishioners who, eventually, were joined by the local community. Hooker was unsure whether the priest was forced or willingly complied with the demands. Either way, he "yelded to theire wills: and forthew[i]th ravesshethe hym selffe in his olde popishe attyre, and sayethe masse and all such shruices as in tymes paste accustomed." Word of the occurrence at Sampford spread "as a thunder clappe soundinge thorowe the whole countrie: and the common people so well allowed and lyked thereof that they clapped their hande for ioye, and agreed in onemynde to have the same in everie of their seu[r]all ꝑishes."[95]

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[92] Mileage taken from Benjamin Donn's map.

[93] Hooker, *Citie of Excester,* 56. Whitsunday is Pentecost, which occurs the seventh Sunday after Easter. At least two modern historians, Frances Rose-Troup and Julian Cornwall, followed Hooker's conviction that the cause of the rebellion was religion. The title of Rose-Troup's work is self-evident, *An Account of the Insurrections in Devonshire and Cornwall Against Religious Innovations*; Julian Cornwall, 5, and 242 n. 3.

The events at Sampford prompted the local "Iustycesses of the peaxe" [Justices of the Peace] to go to the village to talk with the "cheefe players" and to "ꝑswade and pacifie the reste of the people."[96] The Justices were accompanied by "theire men" (presumably their servants) and together they outnumbered the "smale nomber of the commoners then there assembled." The villagers asked to talk alone with the Justices, who later left without any action being taken. The lack of action, Hooker claimed, was the result of "the said Iustices" being "so white lyvered as theye woulde not or durste not to represse the rages of the people."[97] From that point the rising escalated "througheoute the whole shere," and "Cornyshe people" flocked to join their Devon neighbours.[98]

J.A. Youings correctly criticised the "satisfying symmetry" of the "widespread notion that the so-called Prayer Book Rebellion both began and ended in the remote mid-Devon village of Sampford Courtenay."[99] The descriptive package provided by Hooker is just too symmetrical. The Sampford Courtenay incident supported Hooker's ethnocentric view and provided him with both the required religious motivation for the rebellion and an introduction to his hero, Sir Peter Carew. The events at Bodmin in Cornwall the week before fulfilled only one of Hooker's requirements – opposition to religious change – and even that motivation is arguable so Hooker ignored the Bodmin protests.

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[94] Tanner, 109.

[95] Hooker, *Citie of Excester*, 56-57.

[96] Hooker named the local justices as "*Sr Hewe Pollerd* knyghte *Anthonye Harvye Alexander Woode and Markes Slader* Esquyers," *Citie of Excester*, 57. The italics are Hooker's.

[97] Following the departure of the Justices from Sampford a local man, William Hellyons, who tried to pacify a mob, was murdered. Hooker, *Citie of Excester*, 92-93.

[98] Hooker, *Citie of Excester*. 57-59.

Following the events at Bodmin at the beginning of June, the armed groups that made their way east in the following weeks joined with their Devon peers, became a strong rebel force, and besieged the city of Exeter for nearly two months. The combination of the forces from the two counties resulted in the escalation of local disturbances into a full rebellion. Youings might well be correct when she commented a rebellion could not have taken place if the Cornishmen had not joined with their Devon counterparts.[100] Thus, the failure of the local governors to control and contain the unrest in their own locales was a crucial factor in the devastating events that followed.[101]

To be other than a rabble group, serious opposition to the Crown needed capable and credible leadership. That capability was found most often among the more privileged social group. Before the Cornish rebels moved eastwards to Devon during the last week of June, they had gentry leadership, albeit forced leadership in the form of Humphrey Arundell, a nephew of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne. Among the names of the rebels are found a few men of gentry status, albeit far from prominent, and for whose activities there is little record. They were arrested and bound over on recognisance.[102] Richard

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[99] Youings, "South-Western Rebellion," 99.

[100] Ibid., 99.

[101] Examination in detail of the rebellion is not part of this work, however, the seriousness of the event provokes, still, strong opinions. Julian Cornwall, for example, argued that the loss of southwest life "per capita was not dissimilar" to the French losses at the battle of Verdun, 204. To place Cornwall's comment in perspective, a French estimate places the total French and German causalities at Verdun at nearly a million and a quarter. Winston Churchill estimated the French losses at nearly half a million, Alistair Horne, *The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916* (Macmillan, 1962; abridged ed., London: Penguin, 1964; rep. ed., 1987), 327-28. The memory of southwestern dead resulting from Tudor rebellions lives on among people in the region, and the remembrance is reflected formally and informally. In 1997, there was a commemorative march from Cornwall to London marking 500 years since the rebellion of 1497. The marchers covered some 360 miles, and Noel Perry of the *West Briton* commented that many of the ancestors of those who walked had fought and died in that rebellion. The same year a comment by Ms Audrey Hosier, a local historian, reflected the lingering memory of the slaughter of southwestern people in the early Tudor rebellions, Audrey Hosier, Tavistock, Devon, conversation with Pamela Stanton, 5 June, 1997.

[102] Rose-Troup, 355, 500.

Roscarrock of Cornwall was required to appear before the Privy Council at Westminster on 12 November 1549 having been "bounden at Exceter before ... to appere this day."[103] The Herald's Visitations record only one Richard Roscarrock, the eldest son of Agnes Grenvile, and a cousin of Sir Richard Grenvile and the Sir John Arundells of both Lanherne and Trerice.[104] What role Roscarrock played in the events of 1549 are unknown but, presumably, his actions were not appreciated by the government. A few other minor gentlemen are named in the official records, but their actions are not known and they are of little consequence. The evidence for the actions of Humphrey Arundell in the early days of the Bodmin disturbances is confused and incomplete. In his confession in the Tower dated October 1549, Arundell claimed that he was forced repeatedly by rebels into joining them and assuming leadership of those gathered at Bodmin at the beginning of June.[105]

That the events at Bodmin went unnoticed by the local governors is impossible. Just as they would have noticed disturbances in any other region of England so they would have in Cornwall. As happened at Sampford Courtney, local justices would have checked the situation and acted accordingly, but no records exist to show what occurred at Bodmin. The traditional picture of how the gentry dealt with the southwest rebellion has always focused on the involvement of one particular member of the social group, Sir Peter Carew (despite the presence of his uncle, Sir Gawen Carew) to the exclusion of most other local governors.[106] The emphasis results from Hooker's account according to which, the "kinge and counsell" instructed Sir Peter and Sir Gawen Carew to go "into Devon" (Peter was in Lincolnshire and Gawen, his uncle, was at Court), where they were to "vse by the advise of the Iustices all the beste meanes and waies they mighte for the appeasinge of this rebellyon."[107] Hooker's highly biased account of the rebellion misled historians in two areas. First, with the idea that the cause of the rebellion was solely opposition to religious change, however, the works of Youings and Robert Whiting, in particular, dispelled that idea. Second, Hooker's conviction that Sir Peter Carew had an official appointment to deal with the troubles in the southwest. In her re-evaluation of the events, Youings was unable to track a paper trail from London that either appointed the Carews as representatives of the Crown or authorised them to deal with disturbances in the southwest.[108] Far from being heroes, in fact, the confrontational style of the Carews in their dealings with rebels and local justices in the region probably escalated the problems.[109]

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[103] *APC*, 2: 356; *L&P*, 2, 356.

[104] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4, 191, 400.

[105] Knighton, 152-53. Rose-Troup cited the indictment of Arundell, 344-45.

[106] Sir Gawen Carew was the brother of Sir William Carew, the father of Sir Peter. Vivian, *Devon*, 135.

Even Hooker maintained that the Duke of Somerset, the Protector, accused Peter Carew of inflaming the problem in the southwest.[110] Carew was criticised because of the way in which he had mishandled the situation when he called together "the Shiriffe and the Iustices of the peaxe" at Exeter. Some of those men accompanied the Carews to Crediton, a few miles north of Exeter, "to have conference and speeches w[i]th the said commons & to vse all the good waies & meanes theye mighte to pacifie & appease theym." The gentlemen found the town fortified against them, and the commoners unwilling to talk. The situation escalated when a servant of Sir Hugh Pollard set fire to a barn, causing panic among the rebels who fled. News of the burning spread rapidly and prompted the rest of the population into organising themselves into "troopes," because they thought, "the gentlemen were alltogether bente to overrunne spoyle and destroye theyme."[111]

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[107] Hooker, *Citie of Excester,* 59.

[108] Peter Carew's official appointment by the Crown or his self-appointment is noted by Fletcher and MacCulloch in the fourth edition of *Tudor Rebellions* but not in the previous three editions, Fletcher and MacCulloch, 52.

[109] Youings, "South-Western Rebellion," 110-11.

[110] Hooker, *Citie of Excester,* 81.

Youings commented that the government made a great mistake not keeping in touch with the more moderate gentlemen.[112] Again, her view is valid, as Hooker's work reveals the volatility and conflicting nature of the relationship between Sir Peter Carew and his local peers. In his account, Hooker named only a few of the gentlemen to whom he referred in his description of the events, particularly during the first days of the arrival in Devon of the two Carew men. Hooker's emphasis is on the actions of Sir Peter Carew and is always positive, generally to the detriment of the other named and unnamed local governors. Thus, Hooker established the idea of the cowardice of the local governors, an idea under which all the men were subsumed with the exception of the two Carews and Sir Richard Grenvile.

Sir Peter Carew met and conferred with some justices at Exeter, where it was decided that some of them would ride the next day to "Clyste [a village near Exeter], and ther to vse all the beste meanes the [they] might for the pacifenge and quyetinge of theime." The rebels refused to talk with Carew because "suche was the rancor and and [sic] malice conceved against him partelie for religion & p[ar]telye for the burnynge of the barne at Crediton."[113] They did agree to talk with three of the Justices, "Sr Thomas Denys, Sr Hew Pollard and Thomas Yarde Esquier," and their discussion continued for the remainder of the day. After returning to Exeter that evening, the gentlemen who had met with the rebels revealed to Carew and the others present that "the commons had promysed and were contented to keepe theime selffes in good and quyet order and to proceed no further in theire attemptes" if the King and Council "wolde not alter the religion but suffer it to remaine and tarie in the same state as kinge Henry the eighte lefte it and vntill the kinge him selffe came to his full age." The local governors who negotiated with the rebels at Clyste were severely criticised by Sir Peter Carew and the Sheriff of Devon, Sir Peter Courtenay, for not being sufficiently harsh in their dealings with the rebels, given the serious nature of the situation.[114] At that point, Hooker delineated sides based on an escalation of words. On one side were Carew and Courtenay, apparently incensed with the attitude and actions of their peers, on the other were the other local governors. Thereafter, it seems co-operation and consultation was impossible within the group of local governors.[115]

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[111] Hooker, *Citie of Excester,* 60-61.

[112] Youings, "South-Western Rebellion," 112.

Although Hooker's portrayal of Sir Peter Courtenay suggests a man closely allied with Sir Peter Carew, in the absence of solid evidence that alliance is easily misconstrued. Other than the Carew nephew and his uncle, Sir Gawen, Hooker rarely described other local governors in positive terms. In those few cases, he tended to refer to men supportive of religious change.[116] Thus, presumably, he would not have commented positively about Courtenay if he were not supportive of such change. This picture presents a conundrum and reflects the difficulty of understanding the stance during the rebellious events of 1549 of any one person who was a member of the family group at the heart of this study. Courtenay, as Sheriff of Devon, would not have been appointed by a government knowing he was unwilling to carry out his role as a local governor. Nor is it likely that Courtenay would have accepted the appointment knowing he was unwilling to carry out the role expected. Nonetheless, there is no evidence to show that he was an avid supporter of religious change and, thus, like Carew, willing to face the rebels.

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[113] Hooker was setting-up his oppositional religious views here, with the rebels defending traditional religion against his patron and religious reformer Carew. In the Crediton incident, a servant of one of the gentlemen caused panic among the rebels by setting fire to a barn, *Citie of Excester*, 63.

[114] *Lists and Indexes No. 9; List of Sheriffs* (London: Public Record Office, 1892-1912; ms. Amendments 1963; New York: Kraus, 1963), 36.

[115] Hooker, *Citie of Excester*, 63-65.

When the Crown appointed Courtenay, he did not know that, as Sheriff of Devon, he would face a rebellion. According to Hooker's account, after arriving in Devon the Carews "forthew[i]th" sent "for the shiriffe and the Iustices of the peaxe of the countie."[117] The Sheriff of Devon, Sir Peter Courtenay, and some of his peers, at least, obviously responded to that summons. However, the incident Hooker described so positively in terms of Courtenay, if accurate, might simply have been the result of Courtenay's frustration at the turn of events. He was attempting to fulfil his role as a local governor in extremely serious and trying circumstances. Further, the legitimacy of the Carews' leadership role may well have been contentious within the group present.

In a situation verging on desperate, the Sheriff's ideological leanings and familial loyalties also should be considered. While his religious preferences are unknown, his lineage is not. He was both an Edgcumbe and a Courtenay of Powderham in Devon, thus related, for example, to Honor Grenvile, to the Carews of Mohun's Ottery the family of Sir Peter Carew, and to Sir Piers Edgcumbe, and thereby was part of the familial interconnectedness that existed through blood and marriage in the southwestern gentry group.[118] During the rebellion, Sir Peter Courtenay had both a cousin killed while serving in the royal force and a brother, John, among those besieged by the rebels in the city of Exeter.[119] John Courtenay's presence within the walls of Exeter does not make him a religious reformer. Quite the contrary, for Hooker described Exeter's governors, the Mayor and Magistrates, as "beinge noselled in the Romyshe religion." Nonetheless, they did not waver in their duty and loyalty to their prince and their "citie." Regardless of how "they were affected otherwyse in religion yet theye were wholye bent & determyned to kepe and defende the Citie."[120] This incident reflects both the inherent loyalty to the Crown that existed in the southwest regardless of religious commitment, and the difficulty of labelling people on the spectrum of that commitment.[121] From the foregoing

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[116] According to Hooker, Walter Raleigh met "an olde woman" on the road to Exeter and scolded her for carrying "a payer of beaddes" and told her the law would punish her. However, as Hooker's editors noted, the first Act of Uniformity carried "no penalties against the laity." Ibid., 62.

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[117] Ibid., 60.

[118] His mother was Margaret Edgcumbe, daughter of Sir Richard (d.1489), and sister of Sir Piers (d.1539), and his father was Sir William Courtenay of Powderham (d.1541), Vivian, *Cornwall*, 141; Vivian, *Devon*, 246. See ancestry chart Appendix F page 341.

[119] Courtenay's cousin was Sir William Frauncis, son of Cecily Courtenay, sister of Peter's father, Sir William Courtenay (d.1541), Vivian, *Devon*, 246. Hooker stated that "John Courtenay" was "a yonger sone to sir Wyllam Courtenaye of Powderham," and Hooker's editors noted that John Courtenay was the fifth son of Sir William, *Citie of Excester*, 77. According to the Herald's Visitations, Sir William Courtenay's fifth son was Anthony, a brother of Sir Peter, the Sheriff of Devon in 1549, while John Courtenay, was a son of Sir William and his second wife, Mary Gainsford, thus a half-brother to Sir Peter Courtenay, Vivian, *Devon*, 247-48.

Sir Piers Edgcumbe may have been godfather to his nephew, Sir Peter Courtenay. In seven generations of the Powderham Courtenays, going back to the beginning of the fifteenth century, there were only two other men named Peter or Piers, hardly a tradition of naming a Courtenay son an heir. However, in the Edgcumbe family eldest sons for generations were named either Piers (Peter) or Richard, Vivian, *Devon*, 245-47; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 141-43.

One of Sir Peter Courtenay's sons was named Carew; a naming that probably reflects the Courtenay's relationship by marriage, Vivian, *Devon*, 247.

[120] Hooker, *Citie of Excester*, 74-76.

snippets of information an easy assumption might be made that Sir Peter Courtenay was closely allied with Sir Peter Carew and supported religious change. What the scenario reveals, nonetheless, is an ambiguous picture revolving around one man.

Examination of the role of the Sheriff of Devon in the summer of 1549 must be compared with that of his counterpart, Richard Chamond, the Sheriff of Cornwall.[122] Although an officer of the Crown during the 1549 rebellion, Chamond does not appear in any records associated with the uprising. H.M. Speight suggested both that his shrievalty appointment resulted from Sir Richard Grenvile's patronage, and that he was not "an ideal candidate" to deal with the rebellion because of his youth and inexperience in government.[123] If Chamond was unable to cope with events, he may have ensured his absence from the disturbances, which would explain why he is missing from the record. His absence on those terms would certainly accord with John Hooker's contemporary view of the majority of the local governors and with a modern view of Chamond.

S.T. Bindoff based his view on a lack of "faith" in Chamond by the Lord Protector and Council in 1549, because the government recommended William Godolphin (of another prominent Cornish family) rather than the Cornish Sheriff to assist Lord Russell in controlling the rebellion. What Bindoff does not note, however, is that the government warned Russell of the disaffection in matters of religion of many of the southwest gentry. Bindoff does point out that in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, Chamond was elected to Parliament as knight of the shire probably because of the return

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[121] Cooper, for whom that topic is the focus of his work, ably argues the loyalty of the southwest to the Crown, "Propaganda, allegiance and sedition."

[122] Richard Chamond was a son of Jane Grenvile so a nephew of Honor Grenvile, thus a distant cousin by marriage of Sir Peter Courtenay, Sheriff of Devon, Vivian, *Devon*, 246; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 84, 191; *List and Indexes No. 9, List of Sheriffs*, 22.

"to power in the west" of his "Protestant kinsmen" even if he did not share "the radical [religious] opinions of some of his relatives." [124] Chamond's place on the spectrum of religious commitment is unclear. However, in 1564, he was sufficiently conformist or politically astute to be included on a list of justices in the southwest willing to replace local men who were unsupportive of the religious settlement.[125]

The absence of Chamond from his usual role as local governor in 1549 is certainly puzzling. It is questionable whether Grenvile (or anyone outside the centre of power at Court) had sufficient influence with the central government to obtain the shrievalty appointment for Chamond.[126] If he did, Chamond, supposedly being Grenvile's man and given the traditional view of Grenvile as an early ardent religious reformer, would be expected to have attempted to oppose the rebels. However, the claim that Grenvile's actions in the rebellion were in defence of religious change will be seriously questioned shortly in this chapter. The idea that Chamond failed to fulfil his role of local governor in 1549 because of his youth is unacceptable. Men in their mid-thirties in the sixteenth century were no strangers to responsibility. Richard Carew, for example, was twenty-seven when appointed Sheriff of Cornwall in 1582, and twenty-nine when elected to Parliament in 1584. The same year, he recorded the deposition of a Cornish priest whose opinions inclined too much toward Rome, and whose sighting of apparitions included those of Cardinal Pole and Sir Walter Mildmay.[127] The government had enough

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[123] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 105.

[124] Bindoff, 1: 619-20.

[125] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 332.

[126] Although the choice each year ultimately was the sovereign's, the selection was based on recommendations by members of the Privy Council and judges.

confidence in Carew to trust his 'young' and 'inexperienced' hands, whether it involved sorting out problems with a local cleric or assisting in the security of a southwest county vulnerable to Spanish invasion. Similarly, an earlier government would neither have affirmed Chamond as Sheriff in 1544, when he assumed the position after his father died in office, nor appointed him again in 1548 without being confident he could fulfil his official responsibilities. The volatility of the Protectorship, resulting from the struggle around the King for power, surely precluded appointing inept men to official positions. If Chamond was so inept that he could not deal with the usual expectations of a local governor, then the judgement of both the Crown and Sir Richard Grenvile must be questioned regarding their assessment of Chamond and his abilities. Local irritations were not so unusual in England that a man assuming an official appointment would be unaware of the expectations of the position. If Chamond was so incapable, surely he would never have been appointed as Sheriff.[128]

Why did the Sheriff of Cornwall, Richard Chamond, not oppose the rebels in 1549? He probably was not a coward, given that he was in his second term as Sheriff and the previous year was commended by the Privy Council for his part in quelling the riots at Helston. The local governors who met with Sir Peter and Sir Gawen Carew at Exeter in June 1549 included the Sheriff of Devon, Sir Peter Courtenay. Chamond, Courtenay's counterpart in Cornwall perhaps had no knowledge at that time of the meeting at Exeter. Further, the answer may lie, partly, in familial relationships and a shared and inherited culture, for he was a Grenvile, thus part of that larger closely interconnected family

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[127] F.E. Halliday, ed., *Richard Carew of Antony The Survey of Cornwall* (London: Melrose, 1953; reprint New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), 24.

group. By taking up arms in 1549 on either side, he risked catastrophic disunity within the family regardless of both his position on the spectrum of religious beliefs and any patronage relationship he had with his cousin, Sir Richard Grenvile. In any event, Chamond might not have compromised his relationship with Grenvile, because the commitment to religious change of his cousins Maude and Richard Grenvile is questionable. The laudatory picture of Peter Carew painted by Hooker is not the only such representation of a local governor. Among the very few and scanty descriptions, there is another of Sir Richard Grenvile (d.1550) and of an event in 1549 at Trematon Castle, on the southeastern border of Cornwall and Devon. In his *Survey of Cornwall*, Richard Carew wrote the only relatively contemporary account of the "Cornish commotion" some three decades after the event. His description is brief and relates very little information. Grenvile, he says, "with his Ladie and followers, put themselves into this Castle, and there for a while indured the Rebels siege, incamped in three places against it."[129]

Frances Rose-Troup claimed that Sir Richard commanded "a hastily-collected band of local gentry ... who disputed their [the rebels'] way." Only after failing to stop the rebels were Grenvile and his gentry party "forced to take refuge in Trematon Castle."[130] Carew makes no mention of other gentry, local or otherwise, or of anyone other than Sir Richard, Lady Grenvile, and their "followers," presumably their servants. From whence came Rose-Troup's band of gentry is unknown, as she neglected to note any source. The

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[128] Speight's political perspective required that she identify a political cause and, as such, she admitted that her conclusion regarding Chamond's appointment was "irresistible," "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 105.

[129] Carew, *Survey*, 112. See map Appendix H page 363 for all locations associated with the event at Trematon Castle.

gentry under Sir Richard's command, she wrote, attempted to halt the rebels before they sought refuge in the Castle. If that was the case, it is unlikely that Carew would have missed the opportunity to glorify the actions of his local peers. Rose-Troup's description suggests a Sir Richard who valiantly organized his peers against rebels who greatly outnumbered them.

The idea of Grenvile's heroism contributes to his prominent reputation and supports the picture conveyed by John Chynoweth of Sir Richard attempting "to hold Trematon Castle against the Prayer Book rebels."[131] It is more likely, however, that Grenvile took reasonable action to protect the life of himself and his party.[132] His defence of Trematon Castle, a supposedly "local stronghold," is questionable for a number of reasons but, largely, on logistical grounds.[133] Given the circumstances, self-preservation and political expediency more likely overcame any sense of profound religious conviction. For example, a letter written in July 1549 from the Lord Protector and Privy Council to Lord Russell, the royal commander in the west, clearly indicates that any weakness in support of the Crown was viewed as treason. Protector Somerset wrote that "the mayor of Plymouthe in the yelding upp of the towne to the rebells" has "wrought" treason.[134] Risking the charge of treason was a step not to be treated lightly and one few

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[130] Rose-Troup, 129.

[131] Chynoweth, 174.

[132] Speight made this point, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 195.

[133] Ibid., 195.

[134] "Letter from Somerset and the Council to Lord Russell promising help by Lord Warwick," 22 July, 1549, Pocock, 33; Rowse commented that the idea of a treasonous mayor was refuted later with the realization that it was a large force which overwhelmed the town's defences, *Tudor Cornwall*, 265. For this refutation see "Letter from the Council to Lord Russell in answer to his of July 22," Pocock, 35; According to an entry in the *Calendar of Plymouth Municipal Records*, the town's "stepell [was] burnt w[i]th alle the townes evydence in the same by Rebeles," Worth, 16.

would be willing to take, least of all Grenvile, who some historians consider, by his ready acquisition of dissolved religious properties, to have been more than willing to promote his own interests and conform to those of the regime. This perception of Sir Richard accords with the argument that Grenvile was a leader among the emerging group in the southwest eager to dominate all affairs whether economic, political, religious, or social. When, for men like Grenvile, "conformity and obedience to higher powers ... in religious" and other matters was "no more than a facet of their whole outlook."[135] Self-preservation is powerful motivation, and common sense a reasonable one. Both factors are acceptable in the context of Sir Richard's situation at Trematon, particularly given the forces opposing him and the questionable state of the castle.

The remains of Trematon Castle still stand overlooking Saltash not far from the River Tamar on the southern border between Devon and Cornwall.[136] In John Leland's description of the castle, written sometime between 1535 and 1543, he recorded its ruinous state.[137] In his description of the events of 1549, Carew made no mention of the state of the castle. Elsewhere in his *Survey*, however, he noted that in his time the castle was in ruins.[138] The castle was owned by the Duchy of Cornwall and, as with the Duchy's other fortifications in the county, had been neglected since the death in 1300 of the last resident Earl of Cornwall. Despite periodic and partial restoration in the ensuing two centuries, the Duchy's castles were permitted "to fall into irretrievable decay" after the building of Henry VIII's new coastal forts.[139] Thus, Grenvile's defence of the "local stronghold" is doubtful. Far more likely, Grenvile and his party were looking for any port in a storm, and even ruined walls offered some hope of protection.

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[135] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 95.

[136] Trematon Castle is the property of the Duchy of Cornwall.

[137] Smith, *Leland*, 1: 210.

[138] Carew, *Survey*, 112.

Trematon was not Grenvile's home territory, and the party would never have travelled across the county from Stowe in the north to seek refuge in the south.[140] If Richard and his wife, Maude, were visiting other gentry in the area, there is no evidence that a host family was in Trematon Castle with their guests.[141] If the Grenviles were at Plymouth, St Nicholas's Island in Plymouth Sound was an obvious place for refuge. Much closer and far more defensible than Trematon Castle, it was used by others as a refuge during the rebellion.[142] Possibly, the Grenviles were staying at their newly acquired property of Buckland Abbey about eleven miles north of Plymouth.[143] If that was the case, however, Buckland is an even greater distance from Trematon whether travelling via Plymouth or by the more northerly moorland route.[144] Either way required a crossing of the River Tamar. Even if travel from Buckland to the castle, specifically for the purpose of defence, was planned, it would have required adequate advance notice of both the existence of the rebels and their intentions.[145]

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[139] R. Allen Brown, H.M. Colvin, and A.J. Taylor, eds., *The Middle Ages*, vol. 1 of *The History of the King's Works*, ed. H.M. Colvin (London: HMSO, 1963), 472.

[140] Stowe was about fifty-two miles from Plymouth, Donn's map.

[141] There are a number of gentry with whom the Grenviles might have been visiting near Plymouth. The Edgcumbes and Carews, the most prominent families, would be the obvious hosts, but there is also a close family alternative. Thomasine Cole, the widow of Sir Richard and Lady Maud's eldest son, Roger, married Thomas Arundell and, possibly, lived at Clifton north of Trematon where the Grenvile grandson and heir, Richard, may have grown up. Further, the Efford manor of the family of Sir Richard's mother, Margaret Whitley, was near to Plymouth (not the Efford near Stowe in northeastern Cornwall). It is very unlikely that Carew, in his *Survey*, would have omitted their presence, or that of any other gentry family if they had been with the Grenviles. Vivian, *Cornwall*, 13, and 191; Alison Grant, *Grenville* (Appledore: North Devon Museum Trust, 1991), 7; Granville, 86.

[142] Carew, *Survey*, 100.

[143] Mileage taken from Benjamin Donn's map. The site, church, and demesne of Buckland Abbey were acquired by Sir Richard according to letters patent dated 1541, J.A. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries, Historical Problems, Studies, and Documents*, ed. G.R. Elton, no. 14 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), 234.

[144] Trematon to Buckland Abbey via Launceston and the moors was about forty miles, Donn's map.

Such a journey does not make sense for two reasons. First, the ruinous state of the castle rendered it unworthy as a place of refuge greater, for example, than Buckland Abbey, and, particularly, St Nicholas's Island. Second, if the rebels dispatched from the main force to take Plymouth travelled from Bodmin via Liskeard and Saltash, the Grenvile party travelling from Buckland to Trematon on the northern route would have been going directly into their path. The same problem would have existed if the Grenviles had been travelling to Trematon from the direction of Plymouth. Despite claims that the rebel force seconded to take Plymouth consisted of thousands of men, logistically, it is difficult to accept those numbers. Between Trematon and Plymouth is a tidal river, the Tamar, which forms the county boundary. It would have taken a large force considerable and precious time both to commandeer craft and transport their force to the Devon side.[146]

The Grenvile party sought shelter, of whatever type they could find, in the ruins of Trematon Castle. However, a capable man such as Sir Richard defending a ruined edifice is unlikely, and defence in the name of "Protestantism" is arguable. It is far more likely that the Grenvile party was travelling near Trematon and had the misfortune to encounter the rebel force. Humphrey Arundell claimed that Sir Richard was at Launceston, another small market town, when the Bodmin rebels forced Arundell to join them. If the Grenvile party left Launceston to cross the River Tamar then a route near Trematon Castle was appropriate.[147] A sense of self-preservation undoubtedly prompted the Grenviles to seek refuge when faced with an armed and highly agitated group of rebels. The actions of Sir Richard, at that point, had little, if anything, to do with a defence of Trematon Castle in the name of the King and the new religion.[148]

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[145] Leland wrote of a bridge at Calstock and "a passage or fery" at Saltash, Smith, *Leland*, 174, 325.

[146] Speight considered that at least half of a Cornish rebel force of 6,000 was dispatched to take Plymouth, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 195. Rose-Troup claimed that "a considerable body of men was detached" from the main force crossing Bodmin Moor en route to Devon, and that the group "sent to Plymouth" traveled via Liskeard, presumably, to reach and cross the Tamar, 128-29. That route would have taken them past or at least near Trematon Castle. Why such a substantial force would choose to attack the town by crossing the Tamar is curious. Leland wrote that there was "a passage or fery ... over" the river, 1: 325. However, even if all accessible boats on the river were commandeered, the logistics of ferrying across about 3,000 people is enormous. That problem suggests that the rebels were both horribly ill informed and disorganized (quite conceivable). Sir Richard and his domestic party could

The idea that Sir Richard was "a particular target for the hostility of the rebels" also is questionable.[149] That view is based on his function as a local government official responsible for the imposition of religious reforms, and on his suppression of the riot against a government agent at Helston the year before. [150] Sir Richard Edgcumbe had raised troops in Plymouth and ridden to Helston to suppress serious rioting in 1548, but there is no evidence the rebels targeted him in 1549 because of his actions the year before. Retribution by the rebels towards Edgcumbe would have been feasible as, once the rebels reached southeastern Cornwall and the Plymouth area, they were in Edgcumbe country. Further, the Edgcumbe house at Cotehele was only about twelve miles from

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not possibly have held out against a force of such size, or Speight misjudged the number of rebels at Trematon. Her figure of the total rebel force is based on Carew's comment of "6000," *Survey,* 98v.

[147] Humphrey Arundell's confession in the Tower suggests that Sir Richard was at Launceston during the time of the first disturbances at Bodmin, Knighton, 152. Trematon Castle is about twenty-one miles from Launceston. Sir Richard and his party might have been returning to Buckland Abbey via either Plymouth or a bridge further up the River Tamar. "The Itinerary of John Leland, so far as it relates to Cornwall," Hearne's Edition, vol. II, fol. 69, cited in Davies Gilbert, *The Parochial History of Cornwall,* vol. 4 (London: J.B. Nichols, 1838), pp. 280-83.

[148] Chynoweth, 174.

[149] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 195.

Trematon, while their Stonehouse home lay directly on the route between the Tamar ferry crossing and Plymouth.[151] All of these facts made Edgcumbe a far more likely target for the rebels than Grenvile, whose usual residence was on the north coast of Cornwall. The rebels did not expect to find him on the Trematon road, so no rebel plan to "target" Grenvile as a particular recipient of retribution existed before their stumbling across him at or near Trematon. His presence there and subsequent capture was undoubtedly a bonus for the rebels in their goal to capture Plymouth.

Lady Maude and Sir Richard Grenvile were not the only members of the family group imprisoned during the rebellion. That fate also befell the Arundell brothers of Lanherne, although their incarcerations tell a very different story. The story of the arrest of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1557) is a curious affair. On July 10, 1549, the Privy Council replied to a letter from Lord Russell, the royal commander sent to crush the rebels in the west.[152] Russell must have complained to the Council about Sir John, because the Council replied, "we understand that Sr John Arondell, being sent for by youe, hath refused to come."[153] There is no evidence to show that Russell complained about any other man. Presumably, Russell summoned Arundell to raise militia, because in a letter from the Council to Russell on July 27 they wrote "for men he sayth he was hable to make no number, being but a stranger in the countrey where he lay."[154] The same

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[150] Ibid.

[151] Stonehouse was about four miles from the River Tamar crossing and then another mile to Plymouth. Mileages taken from Benjamin Donn's map.

[152] Pocock, 22-24. Note is taken of the corrections made by Frances Rose-Troup to Pocock's edition of the documents, Rose-Troup, 430-31.

[153] Pocock, 23.

[154] Ibid., 38

letter suggests that Russell had two further complaints against Arundell. First, that he had ordered "hering of Masse," which was contrary to the newly introduced Prayer Book. Second, he had repeatedly been unresponsive to commands from Russell.[155] Arundell's defence was reasonable on all counts. In their examination of him after he had been called to London, the Council recorded in a letter to Lord Russell that

> Sr John Arendell ... sayde that at suche tyme he was fyrst sent for by y[ou]r lordshipp he was verie sicke, and not hable to travell; the second [request] sent from you he shewid us, and more [requests] he sayd he had not nor anye cõmandement other then These two frome y[ou]r L[orship]. He sayeth forther he was not comanded upon his allegeaunce, and that he mynded to have come unto you upon y[ou]r [requests] as sone as he shuld have been able. As for men he sayth he was hable to make no number, being but a stranger in the country where he lay. And for hering of Masse he sayth That upon occasyon of the light talk of the people at the fyrst rysing of Rebells in Devonshire he caused two masses to be sayd, which he sayd he did only to appease the people, and ever sythens he hath harde and caused to be sayd the servis according to the kyngs Ma[jes]^{ties}(sic) order.[156]

Arundell defended his inability to raise the militia by stating that he was both ill and away from home when he received the summons from Russell. His absence from home is plausible, because in the Council's letter of July 18 to Russell, the councillors informed him they had "sent for Sr John Arrendell to Portsmouthe."[157] In Hampshire, Arundell was beyond the scope, relatively speaking, of his authority to raise militia.[158] He was fifty years old, and, if he were unwell, travelling a couple of hundred miles to Cornwall would have been difficult, at best, and particularly so when time was critical. The July 27 letter from the Council implies that Russell told them he had commanded

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[155] Ibid.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid., 29.

[158] There is no evidence in the Arundell archive at the Cornwall Record Office that Sir John owned property in Hampshire.

Arundell to attend him on many occasions and Arundell had refused, but Arundell showed the Council only two requests from Russell. Further, when Arundell said "he was not comanded upon his allegeauance," the terminology suggests Russell made requests rather than commands in the name of the King.[159] Arundell admitted the masses had been held but it was done, he said, as a means of appeasement in an attempt to cool feelings against the introduction of the new Prayer Book. He claimed that since then religious observances had been kept according to the orders of the King.

The location of the two masses is very unclear, but significant. Rowse stated that they were performed in Sir John's household but he commented that Arundell was in Dorset.[160] Whereas, the Privy Council summoned Sir John from Hampshire some distance to the east of the southwestern counties. So, were the masses held in the household where Sir John was located, or were they held, for example, at the St Mawgan parish church next to Lanherne house because the Bodmin disturbances were not that far away? The Council's letter states that Sir John ordered two masses at the first rising of rebels in Devon, which must be the events at Sampford Courtenay on Whit Monday the day after the introduction of the Prayer Book. If, as it appears, Sir John was absent from Lanherne and he ordered masses to be said to appease the people, then there are several possible scenarios. If he was in Dorset (although it is not evident that he was, any stay in that county, probably, would have been at the Arundell Chideock manor), it was close enough to Devon for there to have been rumblings of disorder or he feared there might be disorder. There are two other possibilities for the locale of the masses: first, that he sent a messenger to Devon where the uprising occurred and, probably, to a church where he held the benefice; second, someone was sent to Lanherne, because he knew that feelings were running high because of the introduction of the Prayer Book. Probably, he knew that, in his absence, events could quickly escalate if word of the disturbances in Devon reached Cornwall. If that was the case, it means that Sir John was unaware of the events in Cornwall at Bodmin, where disturbances occurred before those at Sampford Courtenay in Devon. In parishes around England, religion was woven into daily life, so to call for masses to calm fears and tempers was a reasonable and cautionary action. The Council asked Russell to send them "a playne dyscorse of all the sayd Sr John Arendell doyngs wherwith he may be charged."[161] The wording suggests that the Council wanted Russell to convey to them more clearly the evidence against Sir John because, although they worried about the influence of the Arundell family at a time of crisis, they had no grounds to indict him on a charge by Russell.

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[159] Rowse commented also that Arundell's defence included that he had not "been comanded upon his allegiance," *Tudor Cornwall*, 288. Equally, of course, Arundell could have been playing a game of semantics.

The whole case against Arundell requires examination. Frances Rose-Troup remarked that Russell had spent time weeding out "doubtful adherents and suspected spies."[162] Given the doubts the Council had about Sir John, it is possible that the "weeding out" by Russell had turned up Sir John simply because Russell, like some of the Council, particularly the Protector, the Earl of Somerset, feared the Arundell power and influence in the southwest, especially given the religious dimension of the crisis. Russell was establishing himself as a new magnate in the southwest, so would have been happy to see curtailed the power of a local family that was noble in all but name. The tenuous

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[160] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 221, 268. It is not evident that Arundell was in Dorset.

[161] Pocock, 38-39. Sir John's defence is reported in a "Letter from the Council to Lord Russell giving an account of the examination of Sir John Arundel" dated 27 July 1549.

grip Somerset had on government in the summer of 1549, undoubtedly created a heightened awareness of the extent of the Arundell influence in the region and the social web of which the family was an important component. Such concerns about the gentry in the southwest are reflected in a letter Somerset sent to Russell in early July 1549. Somerset had little confidence that the local governors of law and order supported religious change. "When gentelmen of the countrye come to you." he wrote, "ye maie use them, but onles ye know them fuly perswayded for the matier in contraversie of relgyon gyve them not to moche credytt."[163] However, there is no evidence that Sir John Arundell was prepared to take arms against the Crown. As Youings commented, Somerset's fears of the involvement in the rebellion of Sir John and his brother, Sir Thomas Arundell, were ungrounded.[164] What is particularly interesting is that the evidence shows that only Sir John Arundell of Lanherne was charged by Russell with failing to raise the local militia, and only Sir John whom the government held accountable for the same failure. Youings suggested that many of the southwest gentry were unsupportive of Protector Somerset's policies thus disloyal so chose not to act against or with the rebels.[165] Contrarily, J.P.D. Cooper suggested that the absence of "prominent gentlemen" from the ranks of the rebels reflected their general contentment with Tudor rule.[166]

The Council ordered Arundell to London about July 18, 1549. By that time, the siege of Exeter was sixteen days old, so the rebellion was well underway. Arundell did

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[162] Rose-Troup, 237.

[163] Pocock, 26.

[164] Youings, "South-Western Rebellion," 117.

[165] Ibid., 112.

[166] Cooper, "Propaganda, allegiance and sedition," 143.

not appear before the Council until July 27, after which he was ordered to remain in London, and the order was not lifted until November. Sometime between November and the end of January 1550, Sir John was sent to the Tower where he was joined by his brother, Thomas. In February 1552, Thomas was executed, and John was not released from prison until the following May.[167] It is important to separate the incarcerations of the two brothers. Thomas, closely connected to the central government, was, in turn, on the losing, winning, and finally losing side in the central power struggle to control the young King and to govern the country. The fact that Sir Thomas Arundell was not imprisoned until November of 1549 suggests that his incarceration had more to do with central power struggles than with the rebellion the previous summer.

The initial clash his brother, John, had with the Privy Council the previous July was instigated by the complaints made to the Council by Russell who had his own agenda that fitted well with Somerset's concerns. Russell was the new magnate in the southwest in the 1540s and, while he dispensed welcome patronage, he had some distance to go to establish his family as the local reigning nobility and to replace the Courtenays in Devon and the Arundells in Cornwall. Russell's struggle for supremacy in the southwest may help to explain his apparent attempt to dislodge the Arundells from power and influence by laying spurious charges against Sir John. John Arundell's troubles later in the year probably had a strong political component tied to the downfall at Court of his brother, Thomas. The developing picture of the Arundells of Lanherne as disloyal to the Crown based on opposition to religious change does not take into account central political struggles and the crisis at Court in late 1549 through 1550.

The Earl of Warwick's ouster of Somerset in October 1549 created a volatile and unstable political atmosphere. In addition, among the leaders of the conservatives who failed to overthrow Warwick was the Earl of Arundel, husband of Mary Arundell the half-sister of the Lanherne Arundell brothers.[168] Absence of evidence does not clear Sir John of complicity in the events of the rebellion, but familial relationships probably added significantly to the condemnation of the brothers. Sir John encountered difficulties with the central government again in December 1549 when he and Sir William Godolphin, one of his county peers, were charged to keep the peace.[169] Rose-Troup speculated "that Godolphin brought from the West some evidence against Arundell," presumably concerning the rebellion.[170]

It is possible that there was ill feeling between the Godolphin and Arundell families stemming from their apparent competition to obtain the south Cornish priory of Tywardreth in the dissolution of religious institutions in the mid-1530s.[171] Neither family received the grant of the priory. In the turmoil that was 1549, when factionalism was rife in the power struggle at Court, a long-held grudge by the Godolphin family may have led

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[167] For an account of the arrest, trial, and execution of Sir Thomas Arundell, and the arrest of his brother, Sir John, see Pamela Y. Stanton, "Arundell, Sir Thomas," and "Arundell family," *ODNB*.

[168] Those months of volatility are described in letters written by Richard Scudamore to Sir Philip Hoby, English Ambassador at the Imperial Court, Susan Brigden, ed., "The Letters of Richard Scudamore to Sir Philip Hoby, September 1549-March 1555, *Camden Miscellany* 30, 4th s. vol. 39 (London: Royal Historical Society 1990), 67-148.

[169] *APC*, 2: 366.

[170] Rose-Troup, 352.

[171] Rowse suggested bitter enmity between the two families resulting from the competition for ownership of the priory, *Tudor Cornwall*, 209-10. Some of the relationship between the Arundell family of Lanherne and Tywardreth Priory may be found in documents with the prefix ART that form part of the Arundell archives at the CRO. For example, the granting by the prior of Tywardreth to an Arundell of the advowson of a church held by the priory, Thomas Colyns, Prior of Tywardrayth, to Thomas Arundell, Grant of right of presentation, 25 May 1529, ART 3/124/1, Thomas Colyn, Prior of Treourdrayth, to John Arundell, Grant of right, 20 March 1531, ART 3/127, CRO.

to an attempt to discredit Sir John Arundell to the Privy Council during the disturbed months after the rebellion. Much later, in 1560, Sir William Godolphin signed a bill acknowledging a debt he owed to Lady Elizabeth Arundell, by then Sir John's widow.[172] If the Godolphins had nursed a grievance against the Arundells and unwillingly become indebted to them, it is conceivable that ill feeling between them included economic factors. That economic grudge may have been at the centre of actions in late 1549.

Godolphin had no close family relationship with the Arundells, but they were county neighbours and peers. If enmity existed and Godolphin was an opportunist, it is not surprising that he would take advantage of the upheavals that left the Arundell brothers out of favour with the government. In addition, Arundell and Godolphin may have disagreed ideologically. Godolphin pursued some different occupations to his county peer, Arundell. In 1544, Godolphin distinguished himself serving in France under Lord Russell, who commanded part of the English forces.[173] Two years later, Godolphin received the appointment of bailiff of the lordship and county of Boulogne. By the reign of Queen Mary, he was a part of what Rowse calls her "most energetic and constant opposition" – the "new dynamic forces ... [of] Protestant nationalists."[174] Whether Godolphin and his westcountry cohorts truly believed they fought the Queen on devout religious grounds is arguable. The group of adventurers of which Godolphin was a part seem to have been more interested in their privateering ventures and preying on Spanish shipping in the Channel than in profound religious identities.[175] Economic gain appears to have been more important to Godolphin, which makes his motivation suspect in his actions concerning Sir John Arundell in December 1549. The unknown evidence that he brought to the Privy Council in London condemned Arundell then, as it has in some modern scholarship. Arundell and his family are condemned as supporters of the rebellion, not just as having been seen as such by certain people in the government.[176]

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[172] Sir William Godolphin, 26 November 1560, AR 26/5, CRO.

[173] A muster book cites "Sir John Arundell de la Heron" with other of his county peers including Godolphin as members of the King's "army against France" in 1544, *L&P,* 19: 150.

[174] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 248, 318-19.

After 1552, Sir John Arundell lived to fight another day. His brother was executed for being finally on the wrong side of the power struggle taking place at the centre of government, but John was released from prison later the same year. The accession of the new monarch restored the fortunes of both the Lanherne and Wardour branches of the Arundells. Although the government of Edward VI restored to Lady Margaret Howard, the widow of Sir Thomas, a portion of the Wardour estates, under Queen Mary all the properties were returned to the Arundells. Under the Marian government, Sir John became a Member of Parliament and a commissioner for Cornwall.[177]

The reputation of the Arundells of Lanherne as devout religious traditionalists left them open, in their own time and in modern scholarship, to being labelled covert supporters of the rebellion. It is feasible that members of the gentry secretly supported the

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[175] The acts of Godolphin and his Westcountry seafaring peers can be viewed with questionable legitimacy. Men like them caused no end of concern to the Tudor governments, as piracy was almost impossible to prove. In 1536, the government went so far as to introduce laws that were more effective in an attempt to catch pirates. Williams, 244.

[176] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 8-9, 17. Speight recognized the complexity of the case against Sir John and the difficulty of condemning him for, she commented, the evidence "is not unequivocal." In addition, she recognized the value in Arundell's attempt at appeasement of disorder by ordering masses to be said, when the situation was being highly inflamed by the actions of Sir Peter Carew and his uncle, Sir Gawen. For Speight, however, political considerations and animosity overrode all other considerations; the southwest gentry were split along confessional lines and acted on political motivations.

[177] J. Arundell, T. Norfolk, F. Shrewesbury, Penbroke, and William Petre to Sir John Arundell, Sir John Arundell Treryse [sic], Sir Hugh Trevanion, and the other commissioners of Cornwall, St. James Palace, 7 May 1554, L, AR 22/32, CRO; Stanton, "Arundell, Sir Thomas," *ODNB*.

rebellion, as much for economic grievances against the government as for religious reasons. The idea has considerable merit, but fails to explain the absence of the local governors from their usual roles in June 1549. By failing to act, they risked their own lives and the lives and future existence of their families. The Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles must be considered in the context of family ties and the continuity of traditional religious identities. That consideration, however, must be with the caveat that family interests no matter the century are rarely monolithic, thus anomalies always exist. In the case of the missing governors of law and order in the 1549 rebellion in the southwest, there were anomalies. Far from missing was Sir Peter Carew of Mohun's Ottery in Devon, a distant cousin of the Arundells, whom John Hooker hailed as the suppresser of the rebellion and thus the saviour of the new religion. At the other end of the spectrum was Humphrey Arundell, a first cousin of the Arundell brothers of Lanherne, who was executed as the Cornish leader of the rebellion. He protested to the Privy Council in his defence that he was forced to lead the rebels, but his claim is unverifiable.[178] Humphrey's Devon counterpart was Sir Thomas Pomeroy, married to Jane, a daughter of Sir Piers Edgcumbe (d.1539) and a sister of Sir Richard. Although arrested, Pomeroy did not suffer the fate of Humphrey Arundell, far from it; he was released from prison later in the year. The fact that one man died and the other lived, raises the question of further attack on the Lanherne family resulting from fear at the centre of government of the Arundell influence and power.

The traditional picture of the local governors in the early weeks of the disturbances in the southwest has focussed on Sir Peter Carew to the exclusion of all other local governors. It is the other local governors, however, on whom we should focus.

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[178] Knighton, 152.

Hooker claimed, initially, that the local justices were cowards, a claim he later appeared to withdraw. Nonetheless, another unnamed writer describing the rebellious events in Devon made similar scathing references to local governors.[179] The two contemporary opinions raise the unlikely idea that all the gentry who failed in their usual roles of maintaining law and order were cowards. Youings suggested that "the gentlemen" to whom Hooker referred as having accompanied the Carews to Crediton to talk with the rebels were "more likely ... those whom he regarded as the pillars of law and order."[180] Does she mean men whom Hooker considered locally prominent or those he considered religious reformers? Given the generally biased tone of his record and his scathing condemnation of the justices at Sampford, it is possible he meant the latter. He condemned very clearly the four men at Sampford for not quelling the commotion; they "were so white liuvered, and they would not, nor durst not to represse the rages of the people [which they might haue done]."[181] The result of their inaction, Hooker claimed, was "suche a fyer as theye were not hable to quenche."[182] Three of the men who went to Sampford to investigate the commotion, Sir Hugh Pollard, Anthony Harvey, and Alexander Wood, appear in the official records as government appointees, but there is no record anywhere else of Mark Slader who accompanied them.[183] Therefore, Hooker could be using the word justices in a generic sense to include any men of the gentry. Possibly, some of the men gathered in the Exeter inn were not official justices. At a time of crisis, interest and action were not only the prerogative of gentlemen appointed by the Crown to official positions of government.

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[179] Pocock, 145-48.

[180] Youings, " South-Western Rebellion," 111.

[181] Holinshed's, 3: 940. The quote in parenthesis does not appear in the version of Hooker's account in *Citie of Excester*, 58.

[182] Ibid., 58.

[183] Pollard, Harvey, and Wood had public careers as justices of the peace in Devon from 1529, 1543, and 1532 respectively until their individual deaths in 1554, 1564, and 1558, Speight, "Local Government and

In 1549, at least seventy-nine men were Justices of the Peace in Devon and Cornwall, plus all the men who held no official government appointments. H.M. Speight calculated that in the first half of the sixteenth century the number of gentry households in Devon was 350 and in Cornwall 195.[184] If men from only a third of the Devon families met to organize how to deal with the disturbances, that would have gathered more than a hundred. Hooker failed to name the group of men who met in the room at the Exeter inn. Given the size of Tudor inns where they supped together, it is unlikely that there was more than a small group, let alone anywhere close to a hundred.

Modern historians have taken various approaches to the absence of the local governors in 1549, and Hooker's "white lyvered" charge against the local governors survived for four centuries. As Youings pointed out in 1979, Hooker's comment could "still mislead modern historians trying to discover why the situation was not promptly dealt with by the proper guardians of law and order on the spot."[185] This comment by Youings highlights a significant puzzle, as there is no question that in the sixteenth century the central government expected the gentry to exercise daily control over the provinces. As Anthony Fletcher pointed out, it was in the best interests of the gentry to maintain law and order in their locales. Yet, like Rowse and Julian Cornwall, Fletcher

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Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 285-86. Slader was from Bath and was Wood's son-in-law, so might have been simply visiting his in-laws, Rose-Troup, 134.

[184] The mean household size used is 4.5. Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 22.

[185] Youings, " South-Western Rebellion," 100-101.

subscribed to the negative view of the local governors portrayed by Hooker. Rowse saw the "weakness" of the justices in Devon as the root cause of the escalation from local disturbance to major rebellion.[186] Also, he followed the relatively contemporary descriptions by Richard Carew of attempts by different groups of gentry to find protection against the rebels, but made no other attempt to pursue the absence of the local governors from their usual roles.[187]

The only other comment by Rowse was that it "was indeed a time when the gentry had to make themselves scarce, particularly if they were Protestants."[188] Fletcher noted that the "Devonshire Justices of the Peace lacked the confidence and authority to impose the government's will," but he questioned their stance no further.[189] Julian Cornwall thought the majority of gentry in the county of Cornwall were surprised, "confused and hesitant" when the first disturbances occurred on June 6 at Bodmin. If the gentry attempted to recall "the commons to their allegiance," Cornwall considered that "the response was nil." Thereafter, he claimed, "over the county gentlemen were rounded up and imprisoned."[190] For Devon, Julian Cornwall followed both Hooker's description of the attempt by the local justices at Sampford Courtenay to reason with and pacify the angry villagers, and Hooker's opinion that the gentlemen were cowards.[191] In addition, Cornwall concluded that the Devon gentry were so unprepared and desperate in the face of rebellion that they did nothing.[192]

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[186] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 263; Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, 50; Julian Cornwall, 69.

[187] Richard Carew recorded three separate incidents concerning the "last *Cornish* [sic] commotion." In Cornwall "diuers Gent. with their wiues and families, fled to the protection of" St Michael's Mount off the south coast of Cornwall. Also in Cornwall, Carew wrote, "S. *Richard Greynuile* [sic] the elder did, with his Ladie and followers, put themfelues into "Trematon Castle. Trematon was and still is close to the Cornish border with Devon as is Drake's Island in Plymouth Sound. Carew knew the island off Plymouth as St Nicholas Island, and he noted that it "yeelded a fafe protection to diuers dutyful fubiects." Carew, *Survey*, 99v, 111v, 155v.

[188] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 267.

[189] Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, 50.

[190] Julian Cornwall, 59.

No historian has followed the example of Frances Rose-Troup, whose study of the *Western Rebellion* stood as the lone modern work on the topic for over half a century. She considered that "the best of the county families of Devon and Cornwall contributed to the ranks of the insurgents."[193] Presumably, because of that viewpoint, the absence of the local governors does not seem to have been an issue for Rose-Troup. As Youings commented, however, Rose-Troup's opinion on the involvement of the gentry in the rebellion was "surely" an exaggeration.[194] Robert Whiting's view that the most prominent families were represented in opposition to and defeat of the rebellion is arguable, particularly in light of Speight's work that argues for the paralysis of the local governors in the face of crisis.

The idea offered by Hooker that there was hidden support from the gentry for the rebels and their cause is attractive because of Lord Protector Somerset's lack of faith in the support of the southwest gentry for religious change.[195] Youings suggested that the local gentlemen took arms neither on the side of the Crown nor the rebels, because their hatred of Somerset and his policies was greater than their fear of the rebels. This is one possible explanation for the absence of the local governors, but it begs the question. Fear of the mob, 'the many-headed hydra' was a dominant theme for the privileged in society in the sixteenth century. Thus, allowing rebels to run riot was an option members of the gentry would hardly choose.

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[191] Julian Cornwall, 65-67.

[192] Julian Cornwall, 69.

[193] Rose-Troup, 104.

[194] Youings, " South-Western Rebellion," 118.

[195] Pocock, 26.

The idea of extreme factionalism dividing and paralysing the local governors is a highly persuasive but not totally convincing explanation, because there is a missing dimension beyond the political context. There is more to the picture of the regional gentlemen than their differences over both high and local politics. In Christopher Haigh's study of *English Reformations*, devotion to traditional religion is not hard to detect behind the public compliance of the gentry to government legislated change. Haigh, Eamon Duffy, and other revisionists redefined our understanding of the "English Reformation." For four decades now, it has not been possible to view religious change in sixteenth-century England as the rapid downfall of a corrupt and moribund church and its easy replacement with 'Protestantism' desired and welcomed by many people. Rather, the revisionist school emphasizes continuity of traditional religion over dramatic change, and focuses on accommodation of change. Further, there is the larger context of the social fabric of the most prominent southwest gentry. The official and unofficial local governors were members of families, closely connected by geographic propinquity, blood, marriage, and a shared and inherited culture. Only by exploring and understanding the complexity of the familial context can we link those experiences to the wider realities of the institutions of church and state and, thus, of religious change, and to times of crisis such as the 1549 rebellion.

CHAPTER 3

'Families' Mattered

The previous chapter established the importance of the 1549 rebellion, and the failure of the local governors to fulfill their usual roles as maintainers of law and order. The picture developed by historians from John Hooker in the sixteenth century to the present is incomplete relative to the wider social group of which the local governors were an inextricable part. Local governors should be considered in broader terms than confrontational divisive political terms, because they were more than just a small group of officials appointed by the Crown. The elected officials were a minimal representation of the most important people in society in any given locale. As the previous chapter shows, the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles were prominent locally and nationally in the late fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century. Most often that prominence is represented to historians by the actions of Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, or Grenvile men. However, the local governors did not live in a vacuum; they were members of close relational groups. Thus, the focus of this chapter is to establish first the milieu in which historians discuss 'the family' then, by examining the family groups themselves, to establish that those 'families' mattered, because the experiences of living in 'families' cannot be ignored.

This examination determines how we understand 'family,' and uncovers the interconnections of the southwest family group by blood, marriage, and geography. Significantly, just as the framework for this thesis is genealogy, the familial and spatial web that is the framework for this chapter is defined by six women, the Grenvile sisters of Stowe. Historians, because of an important collection of letters that are her official legacy, know only one of them, Honor.[1] The lack of evidence illuminating the lives of her sisters and, indeed, her niece, Maud Grenvile, is no deterrent to including them in this study. Rather, the pictures of Honor's life are used to tease out not only the experiences of her female and male relatives, but also to help relate those views to the rebellion and the failure of the "proper guardians of law and order on the spot"- the men who were the husbands, sons, and nephews of the Grenvile women. In fact by looking at the Grenvile sisters, their web of interconnectedness, their relationships, and their daily lives we can counter the idea of deep division between the southwest gentry. The importance of the relationships between the family members, whether spouses, siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, nephews, and nieces, cannot be undervalued. Using evidence provided by Richard Carew and William Carnsew who documented contemporary life in the southwest reinforces those ideas of the importance of familial relationships. It is in those connections and in the minutiae of daily life that we find the substance of the theme at the heart of this study; the value, "the potency and instrumentality of extended family ties ... what the relationship was worth when it came to the crunch."[2]

The local governors cannot be understood except in a familial context, because relationships were important on both a daily basis as well as in times of crisis. Thus, the social interconnectedness of the protectors of law and order played an important role in why the local disturbances in Devon and Cornwall in early June 1549 escalated into rebellion. In order to investigate that social interconnectedness, we must first examine how the term 'family' is used in scholarship. The history of 'the family' is a newer field of research that is often confusing. Complex questions of whether 'the family' changed over time or remained static, whether kinship was important and when, and whether families were regionally different have occupied many historians. In addition, they have used family relationships to usefully discuss gender roles.[3] The absence of any one of the women and men in the family group explored here would diminish their story.

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[1] Byrne, *The Lisle Letters*.

"No-one knows what 'a family' – much less 'the family' – is," commented Charles Tilly.[4] His comment is reflective of not only a pervasive dilemma existing generally in western society today, but also of one faced specifically by scholars in various disciplines. From complex roots in the 1960s, family history developed as a significant field of study within social history. Nonetheless, confusion related to the term 'the family' remains.[5] The terms family, kinship, and household are often used interchangeably and without clear definition, a problem noted by Tamara K. Hareven who also commented on the need for scholars to systematically define the unit of analysis.[6] The problem is that,

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[2] Cressy, "Kinship and Kin," 42, 49.

[3] References in a footnote cannot begin to reflect adequately the enormous field of study, and the following works merely skim the surface: Alice Clark; *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1919); Lawrence Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990); Mary Prior, ed., *Women in English Society 1500-1800* (London: Methuen, 1985); Bonnie G. Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoisies of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Bonnie G. Smith, *Changing Lives: Women in European History Since 1700* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1989); Mary Abbott, *Family Ties: English Families 1540-1920* (London: Routledge, 1993). Another helpful perspective was provided by Louise A. Tilly, "Women's History and Family History: Fruitful Collaboration of Missed Connection?", *Journal of Family History* 12, nos. 1-3 (1987): 303-15.

[4] Charles Tilly, "Family History, Social History, and Social Change," 328.

[5] David Herlihy problematized the "word *family*" historically, historiographically, and etymologically in "Family," *Portraits of Medieval and Renaissance Living: Essays in Memory of David Herlihy*, eds. Samuel K. Cohen Jr. and Steven A. Epstein (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 7-28.

[6] Tamara K. Hareven, "Family History at the Crossroads," *Journal of Family History* 12, nos. 1-3 (1987): xii. Robert Wheaton noted that he "deliberately … used the term 'kinship' in preference to 'family.'" The meaning of the former, he wrote, being "inclusive and relatively clear" while the latter had several significantly different meanings, "Observations on the Development of Kinship History, 1942-1985,"

again, real live human beings are categorized into definable units for ease of scholarly examination.[7] The difficulties inherent in categorizing the gentry were discussed earlier, and 'the family' presents a similar dilemma. Realistically, how did the people in the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles refer to themselves, each other, and their relationships? The documents refer to beloved spouses, trusted parents-in-law, concerns about children and siblings, visiting siblings and cousins, and gifts and legacies for relatives and gossips (godparents). At no point is a 'family' defined. Thus, the terminology and descriptions used by the actors and actresses in this story are what are important. Their active relationships, rather than arbitrary labels, are what define these people and make their lives important and interconnected. Generally, we know who was married to whom, who was born and who died, and a 'family' was whatever it was. Definition is less important than understanding how people interacted and what the interactions meant to them.

A broad spectrum of understanding exists about what constitutes a 'family.'[8] In this study, what constitutes a family are people. Whatever their names, they ran their estates, managed their affairs, loved, argued, worried, laughed, and cried and in so doing,

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Journal of Family History 12, nos. 1-3 (1987): 297. Lawrence Stone did not use the terms 'family' and 'kin' synonymously. 'Family' he defined as "members of the same kin who lived together under one roof," while 'kin' were persons related by blood or marriage, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, 28. For both comprehensive discussion on 'households' and bibliographical references see Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain, 1470-1750* (Yale, 2002; London: Penguin Books, 2002).

[7] From an anthropological perspective, Oscar Lewis considered that by analyzing specific families we could begin to understand what "'institutions'" meant to individual people. In so doing, he thought, we could try and get "'beyond form and structure to the realities of human life.'" H.J. Habukkuk considered that while the "'proper unit of study is the individual family, it must be seen from the inside.'" Both cited in Miriam Slater, *Family Life in the Seventeenth Century: The Verneys of Claydon House* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 1.

[8] Linda Pollock commented that "a family is different and many things at various times," "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Family History*, 23, 1 (January 1998): 4.

lived their lives. Those lives are worthy of examination whether we term them family partially, wholly, or not at all.

This work focuses on the large familial group of the closely interrelated Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles; a great cousinage reflected in Richard Carew's sixteenth-century words that "all Cornish gentlemen are cousins."[9] Thus, familial relationships broader than the nuclear model of parents and children are crucial to understanding meaning in that great cousinage and how it worked. Attempting to understand the quality of those relationships and who supported and furthered them is important.

Based largely on Lawrence Stone's work, some historians believe that the family in Western Europe underwent significant changes from the sixteenth century when, Stone claimed, kinship ties were eroding and affection in familial units began to develop where none had existed previously; from the impersonal to the affectively bonded nuclear unit. In particular, that companionate marriages and affection for children did not emerge until the later seventeenth century.[10] Other historians have rejected Stone's thesis, observing that any change that occurred was slow and not profound.[11] The idea of lack of affection between family members is explicitly rejected in this thesis, largely, as will be seen in this chapter because of the evidence provided by two members of the families who are the focus of this study. The depth of affection displayed in their letters by Honor Grenvile and her husband, Arthur, Lord Lisle, dispel any notion of Stone's. Alan Everitt rejected Stone's ideas relative to the "county community" in England. Everitt maintained that "the sense of belonging to a great cousinage and of being dominated by it was in several ways increasing" among the Tudor and Stuart gentry.[12] Peter Bearman argued that gentry kinship networks disintegrated in one English county in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as localism was eroded and religious ideology developed.[13] His analysis with its plethora of statistical data, however, does not portray the sensibilities and sensitivities of real people and daily life experiences and interactions. Ralph Houlbrooke disagreed with the idea that "familial forms and functions" changed dramatically between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. He suggested both that the nuclear family was dominant, and that "ideas of affection, authority, responsibility, and duty were established long before the fifteenth century." In terms of wider kinship, Houlbrooke considered there to have been "no sense of overriding loyalty to a defined body of kinsmen." He did make an exception, however, as he conceded that in some distant regions closer ties

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[9] Carew, *Survey*, 64.

[10] Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*. This idea of a change that was not quick and dramatic vis-à-vis 'the family' is analogous to the schools of thought relative to the "English Reformation;" the traditional view of rapid collapse of a moribund and defunct church and transformation into Protestantism and the opposing view of more continuity of traditions.

[11] A significant amount of scholarship exists on both sides of the debate. A good survey of scholarship is provided by Ralph Houlbrooke in *The English Family 1450-1700* (New York: Longman, 1984). See also Ralph Houlbrooke, ed., *English Family Life 1576-1716; An Anthology from Diaries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988); Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England, 1300-1840* (Oxford, 1986); Wrightson, *English Society;* Heal and Holmes, Slater, *Family Life in the Seventeenth Century*; Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, vol. 1, *From Tudor Times to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Harold Perkin (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969); L.A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-*

Child Relations, 1500-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); L.A. Pollock, *Lasting Relationship: Parents and Children over Three Centuries* (London: Fourth Estate, 1987).

Also contrary to Stone's thesis that the nuclear family type did not develop until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the work of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, established in 1964. Jack Goody, Peter Laslett et al showed that the nuclear family was the dominant Northern and Western European pattern by the late fourteenth century. See, for example, Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[12] Alan Everitt, *Change in the Provinces: The Seventeenth Century* (Leicester, 1969; rep. ed. 1972), 26.

[13] Peter S Bearman, *Relations Into Rhetorics: Local Elite Social Structure in Norfolk, England, 1540-1640* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1993).

existed – Devon and, particularly, Cornwall, being "distant regions" in the sixteenth century.[14]

The idea of the distinctiveness of the far southwest politically, especially as regards social interaction among the elite, because of its location as a unique marchland, has remained alive among some historians. Often fed by the separatist views of local historians, the idea of separateness and difference relative to the rest of England assumed a life of its own and was adopted by modern historians ranging from A.L. Rowse to Julian Cornwall, Philip Payton and Mark Stoyle.[15] In contrast, David Cressy questioned the validity of treating "early modern England as a single cultural area."[16] The answer, perhaps, lies somewhere in between.

The importance of the interconnectedness of the southwest gentry families may be compared to the pictures developed by some historians about other counties. In his study of Sussex in the seventeenth century, Anthony Fletcher noted that "the gentry community had become linked in a vast and intricate network of cousinage." Generation after generation throughout the sixteenth century, "the leading families" were locked "in close bonds of kinship." "Kinship," said Fletcher, "was the dominant principle of Sussex society" strengthening "the cohesiveness of the gentry community," and "to some extent at least it guided and determined men's loyalties."[17] Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes agreed that for the gentry "kin were of great significance," because lineage, economics, politics, "and even ... ties of emotion" bound them.[18] They understood, like Keith Wrightson and Houlbrooke, that kinship was highly complex and variable.[19] Despite the difficulties of understanding kinship relationships, Houlbrooke suggested some acceptable generalisations. First, people saw themselves as related to blood relatives of their mother as well as of their fathers, "and often had strong links with them." Second, this affinal kinship "could be very important."[20]

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[14] Houlbrooke, *The English Family*, 58, 253.

[15] Cooper provided a good discussion of this topic and concluded that far from being a "remote and turbulent borderland" the people of Cornwall saw themselves very much as part of Tudor England, "Propaganda, allegiance and sedition," [n.p.] 2-4; 176. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*; Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*; Payton, 4-13; Mark Stoyle, "Cornish Rebellions 1497-1648," *History Today* 47, 5 (1997), 22-28.

[16] David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 482

Keith Wrightson pointed out the social variations of kinship ties. "Lower in the social scale," on a daily basis, neighbours were more important than kin outside the nuclear family. Thus, the majority of people turned to their neighbours for aid and support, while kinship was of far greater "practical significance" among the gentry.[21] Whereas the communities of villagers and townspeople were their neighbours, who were not necessarily their kin, the gentry's community and social network inevitably, because of limited numbers, comprised their kin. Even within the gentry social group, Wrightson made a distinction of kinship importance. He suggested that ties were far less important among the lesser gentry than among the most prominent county families.[22] Given that the

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[17] Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660* (London: Longman, 1975), 44-48. There exist a significant number of scholars who have pursued in various ways the study of kinship and family history. Robert Wheaton provided an overview of the field in "Observations on the Development of Kinship History, 1942-1985:" 285-301. Keith Wrightson updated the overview in "The Family in Early Modern England; Continuity and Change," *Hanoverian Britain and Empire: Essays in Memory of Philip Lawson*, ed. Stephen Taylor, Richard Connors, and Clyve Jones (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1998), 1-22.

[18] Heal & Holmes, 91.

[19] Wrightson, *English Society*, 44-51; Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*, 218.

[20] Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*, 219.

[21] Wrightson, *English Society*, 48-49.

entire gentry comprised roughly only two per cent of the total population in England, mutual support was important and, often, crucial.

In direct contrast to Lawrence Stone's thesis that families lacked affection and that kinship ties declined in the sixteenth century, weighty evidence shows that kinship was an important factor in the life of the gentry right through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In his wide-ranging exploration of family experiences in those times, Cressy concluded that despite the basic family unit being nuclear, people were "fruitfully connected to their wider kin."[23] Kinship helped define their place in the social network.[24]

Despite the attention paid by some historians to a "deep division" within the south-west gentry by 1549, they give little, if any, consideration to the extended kinship group, their relationships, and the effect of their interconnectedness on the crisis in 1549. Thus, it is time to examine more closely the traditional picture of the southwest gentry in 1549, in particular, of the kinship group of Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles. The current picture of the family group lacks its full dimension. H.M. Speight's political argument in her study of the southwest gentry and the 1549 rebellion is persuasive but narrowly focused.[25] John Hooker's contemporary view of the cowardice of the local governors as an explanation of their absence from their usual roles as

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[22] Ibid., 48. This idea, as Wrightson noted, is suggested in the works of John Morrill and Lawrence Stone. J.S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society During the 'English Revolution'* (Oxford, 1974), 15; Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage,* 93-108.

[23] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death,* 10.

[24] For historians who address in various ways the topic of kinship, distinct or indistinct from the topic of 'family,' see, for example, N.Z Davis, "Ghosts, Kin and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France," *Daedalus* 106 (1977): 87-114; M. Chaytor, "Household and Kinship: Ryton in the late 16th and Early 17th Centuries," *History Workshop Journal* 10 (1980): 25-60; Keith Wrightson, "Critique: Household and Kinship in Sixteenth-Century England," *History Workshop Journal* 12 (1981): 151-58; Cressy, "Kinship and Kin," 38-69; Wheaton, 285-301.

[25] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall."

maintainers of law and order during the first disturbances in 1549 is easily dismissed.[26] Nor is factionalism a satisfactory explanation. Nonetheless, factionalism was a fact of life particularly among the more privileged social groups in the sixteenth century, and E.W. Ives suggested that factional competition is the way to understand Tudor politics.[27] Undoubtedly, as Youings suggested, some gentry were less than supportive of the Lord Protector's policies during the reign of the young Edward VI.[28] Equally certain is that some supported his government, thus the various components accentuated any pre-existing differences. Also certain, as Fletcher pointed out, was the desire of the governing group to maintain their hegemony, particularly in the face of a potentially enormous threat to social order. In which case, we must question how much desire there was for and how much energy was invested in contributing toward a social divide among the southwest family in 1549. From the 1480s, the Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, and Grenviles had rallied to support the Tudor Crown and enforce law and order, despite any differences among them. In 1536, the Arundell brothers of Lanherne, their cousins of Trerice and Edgcumbe, and other of their regional peers mobilized for the King against the northern rebels. In 1548, Sir Richard Edgcumbe raised the militia and rode across Cornwall to aid his peers, who were unable to contain a riot of, reportedly, 3,000 people. All of these actions make the absence of the local governors in 1549 more significant. What their absence does suggest is an environment in which they were incapable of responding or unwilling to respond for other than political, economic, or religious differences.

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[26] Hooker, *Citie of Excester.*

[27] E.W. Ives, *Faction in Tudor England* (London: The Historical Association, 1979).

Susan Amussen remarked that "we cannot understand politics (as conventionally defined) without understanding the politics of the family." This is because the separation of public and private, so familiar in modern society, was previously absent.[29] The usual official and unofficial business of the local governors and their political factionalism was as much a part of family life as any other activity. Differences of opinion would have resonated through the family group. Similarly, so would have religious opinions, because, as shown in the following chapter, religious beliefs and practices were an important part of family daily life. Conflict was "a structural component of family life." Discord, however, did "not necessarily indicate fragile bonds of affection."[30] These types of views dilute the concern expressed by Mary Abbot. She pointed out the "danger of over-romanticizing" the picture of the family "by exaggerating continuity and cohesion."[31]

What was the nature of kinship connections within the southwest family group, particularly in the first half of the sixteenth century? David Cressy suggested that it may be "misleading, to judge the shallowness or effectiveness of a kinship system simply on the basis of easily measurable information." What really mattered, he suggested, was "the potency and instrumentality of extended family ties ... what the relationship was worth when it came to the crunch."[32]

For the southwest family group of gentry, the "crunch" came in 1549 with the rebellion. Do family relationships really matter, however, in the event of a crisis with

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[28] Youings, "South-Western Rebellion," 112.

[29] Susan D. Amussen, *An ordered society: gender and class in early modern England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 2.

[30] Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family." 20.

[31] Abbott, 8.

national political importance? Robert Wheaton has pointed out the significance of "kinship as an institution ... to the investigation of historical questions in all times and places."[33] Difficult though it may be, the experiences of family life can be connected to large social structures and processes.[34] In the context of "revolutionary England" in the seventeenth century, Cressy remarked that more research was necessary "to show how ordinary experiences were adjusted to the demands of extraordinary times."[35] David Herlihy showed how this connection is possible by linking the experiences of family life, such as choice of spouses, sexual activity, and childcare, to the structures and process of the Christian Church. "Perhaps no other motives so powerfully affected the behaviour of medieval people than family interests and religious commitments," he concluded.[36] In studies specific to English situations, more examples can be found. Christopher Durston explored how "the family ... the most traditional of social organisms," faced the intense political and religious crisis of 1640-1660. In an admittedly limited study, he found that the institution of the family was pervasive, resilient, and deeply rooted in English culture. Traditional culture was the most powerful and hostile of enemies faced by the Interregnum. Consequently, the English Revolution did not destroy the family; rather, the family may have helped to destroy the English Revolution.[37] In exploring the "rise and

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[32] Cressy, "Kinship and Kin," 42, 49.

[33] Wheaton, 286.

[34] See Charles Tilly, "Family History, Social History, and Social Change," and Tamara K. Hareven, "The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 1 (February 1991): 95-124.

[35] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, 482.

[36] Herlihy, "The Family and Religious Ideologies in Medieval Europe," 14.

fall" of Anne Boleyn, Retha Warnicke connected the papal attempt "to enforce strict marital rules upon princes" to Henry VIII's efforts to obtain a legitimate male heir with a second wife. Further, Warnicke saw "family relationships" to be at the "heart of political competition" at Court and, ultimately, to be the "best explanation" for Boleyn's rise to and fall from the Consort's throne. Without the rise to prominence of the Boleyn and Howard family group, it is unlikely that Anne would ever have come to the notice of the King. A few short years later, the same group's desertion of the Queen in her hour of need left her bereft of the support group she so desperately needed.[38]

The works of both Durston and Warnicke reflect the relevance of family life to 'high' politics in England. Before, during, and after 1549 in the southwest, the experiences of family life within the defined family group were relevant to local and central politics, to religious change, and to the rebellion. The southwest family group was linked on a daily basis by blood, marriage, geography, and a shared and inherited culture. Generally, most people were interested more in their daily activities than in the finer points of politics and theology.[39] Families interacted daily, illustrating connections at every moment; there was no moment when their relationships did not matter.

David Cressy emphasized the importance of relationships over propinquity, but the latter should not be dismissed.[40] Geographical proximity was an important factor in reinforcing the complex web of interconnectedness that formed a gentry kinship group.

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[37] Durston limited his study to that portion of the gentry who were actively involved in the Civil War, perhaps five to ten per cent of the total gentry population in England. His definition of family, apparently, was the "two-generational nuclear family of parents and children living apart from other relatives," 1.

[38] Retha M. Warnicke, "Family and kinship relations at the Henrician court; the Boleyns and Howards," *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 31-53.

[39] For this idea see Everitt, 10.

An official journey undertaken by John Leland between 1534 and 1543 was a remarkable reflection of that social web in the southwest. Leland's travels around England between 1534 and 1543 were the result of a commission he received from Henry VIII to search for ancient texts lodged in libraries of religious institutions.[41] The diaries he wrote whilst he journeyed were not intended for publication, but were compiled as rough notes as he travelled as an antiquarian around England. His notes foreshadowed the interest in establishing ancestry evidenced in the local histories written later in the century by men such as Richard Carew of Antony in Cornwall. Leland had an academic interest in recording and a passion to show the ancient right of the Tudors to the throne. At the same time, as will be seen his jottings provide a glimpse of the complicated familial network that existed among the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles in Devon and Cornwall – a network based on both blood, marriage, geographic propinquity, and a shared and inherited culture. Leland's route traced the geographical and spatial connections of the men, women, and children who carried those names. That tracing represents the physicality of a political, economic, social, and familial web that enmeshed this group of people, and where blood and marriage structures should not be underrated. In fact, Leland's route in the context of this study represents 'a gathering of sisters,' specifically, the Grenvile sisters, who by blood, marriage, geography and the minutiae of their daily lives draw together this complicated familial web. Affective relationships between siblings, spouses, and parents and children all contributed to the importance of familial relationships. These southwest families cannot be viewed in isolation from one another socially, religiously, economically, or politically. Thus, the religious and political

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[40] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death,* 49.

changes of the sixteenth century were carefully negotiated within this complex social network.

"Basset hath a right goodly lordship caullid Treheddy [Tehidy]" Leland observed sometime between 1535 and 1543 as he passed by, shortly before reaching the southwestern end of his journey at Lands End in Cornwall, where England meets the Atlantic Ocean.[42] The lord of Tehidy, before his death in 1528, was Sir John Basset whose manor was under the control of his widow, Honor Grenvile (c.1493-95-c.1564) during her lifetime.[43] The much earlier appointment in 1502 of Sir John to government positions in Devon and some eighteen years later in Cornwall, suggests that Umberleigh in Devon, scant miles from Grenvile territory, was the Basset's main residence. If Leland had ridden more directly to Tehidy when he left Barnstaple in Devon, he would have covered some eighty miles or more. He chose, however, a meandering route, travelling past or near Honor's childhood and marriage homes, those of her five sisters, and of others of her extended family.[44]

Honor was probably born at the Grenvile family home at Stowe in north Cornwall perhaps some thirty miles from Umberleigh, near Barnstaple, where she lived with her first husband, Sir John Basset, the Lord of Tehidy. Her brother, Roger Grenvile,

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[41] Smith, *Leland*, 1: ix.

[42] Smith, *Leland*, 1: 189. According to the Herald's Visitations, the Basset's were associated with the manor of Tehidy at least as early as the reign of Henry III, Vivian, *Devon*, 45. For all map references to Leland's journey see Appendix H page 361.

[43] *Sir Francis Bassett, knt of Tehidy, Cornwall AD 1594 TO AD 1645* (London: Reginald Metcalfe, 1924), 68. Honor's control of the lands in the Tehidy manor is reflected also in 1528 when she granted use of the lands for rent, #1581, "Henderson Calendar" *8*, 125, RIC.

[44] Unless noted otherwise, the birth dates of the Grenvile sisters are those suggested by Byrne, 1: 405.

negotiated Honor's marriage in 1515.[45] Leland did not record the Grenviles of Stowe in his travel notes, despite the family's importance in the county.[46] He did record, however, the manor of Efford that was only a mile or two from Stowe, and where lived Jane Grenvile (1475x80-1552). Jane lived a pleasant Sunday morning's stroll along the road from Kilkhampton Church, where the priest was John Grenvile (d.1580), half-brother of the Grenvile sisters.

About the time of Honor's birth, Jane married Sir John Arundell of Trerice (d.1511) and went to live on his manor at Efford. The "fair maner place" of Efford was where, Leland noted, Jane's eldest son and her husband's heir "John Arundale of Trerise ... was borne" (c.1495).[47] Trerice was much farther west on the Cornish peninsula from Stowe and had been the residence of Jane's parents-in-law, Lady Anne Moyle and Sir John Arundell (c.1471) for, as Richard Carew recorded, "Sir John Arundel .... alwaies shunned Efford, & dwelt at Trerice, another of his houses."[48] If Lady Anne outlived her husband, Trerice probably was her dower home, which explains why Jane Grenvile's eldest son was born at the Efford manor.[49] Jane's eldest son, John Arundell (d.1560), also did not live at Trerice after his marriage to Mary Bevill, as they lived a few miles away on his wife's estate at Gwarnack.[50] Although visits by Sir John to his mother at Efford required travel across half the county, such visiting was attractive to his wife, Mary Bevill. Her sister, Maude (d.1550), lived at Stowe next door to Efford, for Maude had married Richard Grenvile (d1550), a nephew of Jane and Honor Grenvile.

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[45] HB/5/83 and HB/5/84, Basset Muniments Bundle gb No. 2, The Courtney Library, RIC.

[46] The only reference Leland made to the Grenvile family was in passing, when he noted that certain "landes" of the Petit family "be now descendid to Arundale of Trerise, Granville knight, and Killigrew," Smith, *Leland*, 1: 191.

[47] Byrne, 1: 405; Smith, *Leland*, 1: 176.

[48] Carew, *Survey*, 119. Carew was the husband of Juliana Arundell, great great granddaughter of Sir John Arundell of Trerice (died c.1471) and granddaughter of Jane Grenvile.

[49] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 11. There is no record of whether Lady Anne outlived her husband. However, the residence at Efford of John, the Arundell heir, after his marriage to Jane Grenvile c.1493 suggests Trerice as Anne's home in widowhood.

Honor Grenvile spent a decade of her life from 1533 living in Calais with her second husband, Arthur, Lord Lisle. After the death of her beloved Arthur in 1542, she returned to Umberleigh in north Devon accompanied by her widowed daughter-in-law, Frances, and her grandchildren Honor and the Basset heir, baby Arthur. The bereaved Lady Lisle returned to familial comfort and support: Jane still lived nearby with her second husband, Sir John Chamond, and all her other sisters with their respective families lived not so far away along the highways and byways of the Cornish peninsula.

During the years when the Grenvile sisters married and had their children, frequent sibling visiting provided the constant mutual support so necessary in those important times in their lives. Multiple family manors provided the Grenvile sisters with many opportunities for visiting each other. When Jane resided at Trerice and Honor at Tehidy, for example, they could both visit with Katherine and Phillipa at Lanherne and with Mary at Clowance. If we follow on the map Jane's route from Efford and Honor's from Umberleigh, we can see it was a good length of journey until they stopped to spend the night at Roscarrock with their sister, Agnes Grenvile (b.1486-91), married to John Roscarrock (d.1537).[51] Leaving Roscarrock after a day or two, the sisters were refreshed on their journey but, as we can see on the map of Leland's journey, they had to negotiate the large inlet at Wadebridge that is the Camel estuary. To cross the river and shorten their journey, they could, like Leland, have used "the goodly bridge of Wade-bridge ... began 80 yere ago or more" by "lovebone," the local priest, who "with help of the countery finished it."[52]

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[50] Smith, *Leland*, 1: 185.

Continuing through the hilly Cornish countryside, Honor and Jane arrived at Lanherne, the home of their youngest sister, Katherine Grenvile (b.1489-93), and not far from Jane's destination at Trerice. Another traveller, John Norden, wrote that Lanherne "standeth not far from the north sea coast, seated on a banck or side of a hill, a sweet seat accompanied by goodly domains."[53] Lanherne house provided a pleasing situation for its occupants in a lovely Cornish vale and just a short walk through the trees to their parish church of St Mawgan. When Katherine Grenvile married, she became the wife of the "great Arundale of Lanhiran [Sir John Arundell of Lanherne] by S. Columbes."[54] So great were the Arundell family of Lanherne that they were analogous to a noble family, providing a much favoured familial connection in which Katherine's sisters could rejoice at her good fortune. There was a double cause for celebration by the Grenvile sisters, for another sibling, Phillipa (1484x89-1524), married Katherine's brother-in-law, Humphrey Arundell.[55] Phillipa might have lived at Lanherne, or close-by on another Arundell manor swept more than Lanherne by the bone-chilling wind from the "north sea coast." As the

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[51] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 409.

[52] Smith, *Leland*, 1: 303..

[53] John Norden, *Speculi Britanniae Pars: A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall* (London, 1728); Byrne, 1: 307.

[54] Smith, *Leland*, 1: 185.

[55] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 5.

sisters dealt with the joys and tribulations of daily life, such proximity brought great comfort and pleasure.

Leaving Lanherne and following Leland's route west on the map through Mitchell, we need to look a little northwest across the Cornish valleys and hills to try and glimpse Trerice, the manor of Sir John Arundell (d.1511), the first husband of Jane Grenvile. The house was no great distance from Lanherne, so much sisterly visiting was possible when Jane resided at Trerice. There, Jane was only a few miles distant from her eldest son John, at his wife's manor of Gwarnack. When Leland left Lanherne at St Mawgan, he returned to his main route and travelled southwest ten or eleven miles until he reached "a litle village and paroche churche cawlen Alein" where "hereabout *very* good corne. And so a mile to Gwarnek, Mastar Arundels house." The house in which "John Arundale of Trerise dwellith yn was Bovilles," wrote Leland, the inheritance of Mary Bevill and her sister, Maude, married to Sir Richard Grenvile.[56] Jane's presence at Trerice enabled visits with yet another sister, Mary (b.1483-88), married to Thomas St Aubyn of Clowance. If we follow Leland's route even farther west on the Cornish peninsula, we can see that he passed close-by to Mary's home. The proximity of Clowance to the "right goodly lordship caullid Tehidy" undoubtedly provided motivation for Honor Grenvile to have Thomas manage her Basset estates at Tehidy during the decade when she lived at Calais.

By the time Leland reached Tehidy and Clowance after leaving Barnstaple in Devon, he had meandered through the vicinity of the homes of most, if not all, the Grenvile siblings and their respective families. Tracing his return journey to the east, we see he followed a more southerly route where he encountered many relatives of the

Grenvile sisters. On the banks of the River Tamar, the southern boundary between Devon and Cornwall, Leland noted that "[Per]se Egge[combe hath a g]oodly house."[57] Sir Piers Edgcumbe (d.1539) and his wife, Joan Dernford (born c.1476), contracted important marriage alliances with the great Arundell family at Lanherne.[58] In 1516, the Vicar of Plymouth, Richard Huntyndon, certified that he had published banns between the Edgcumbe heir, Richard, and Elizabeth Arundell, a daughter of Sir John and Eleanor Grey, so a stepdaughter of Katherine Grenvile. The same document attests to the publication of banns also between Richard's sister, Mary Edgcumbe, and Elizabeth Arundell's brother, John (1500-1557), the heir of Lanherne.[59] The Edgcumbe-Arundell alliance did not end with that generation, for Joan Durnford also had a family connection

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[56] Smith, *Leland*, 1: 181, 185.

[57] Smith, *Leland*, 1: 214. Leland's editor, commented that the house of Piers Edgcumbe was "[in cornwa]lle on [Ta[*mer at the mouth of Plimmouth Haven*]." However, Leland's travels ended by 1543, and his reference to Piers Edgcumbe makes the date during or before 1539 when Sir Piers died. It was not until 1547 that his heir, Sir Richard, began the construction of the great house at Mount Edgcumbe, on what is now the Cornish side of the River Tamar opposite Plymouth. Previously the Edgcumbe family homes were at Stonehouse on the Plymouth side of the river and at Cotehele, which, although on the Cornish side, was further inland on the banks of the Tamar. However, as Leland also noted, "[P]erse Egge[combe ha]d a manor by Ramehed" where the River Tamar meets the English Channel in Plymouth Sound. Perhaps the Edgcumbes had a house on that manor before Sir Richard began construction in the 1540s.

[58] The date of Joan Dernford's date of birth is taken from Letters patent dated 1490 in which she was described as "of full age," that is, "14 years or more," Charles Dynham, Esq. and Joan his wife, 30 May 1490, ME 680, CRO.

[59] The Herald's Visitations for the Arundells of Lanherne recorded that Elizabeth Arundell, daughter of Sir John and Eleanor Grey, married Sir Richard Edgcumbe. The Visitation records for the Edgcumbes cite no such marriage, but it was noted by the editor, Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4, 142. In the late nineteenth century, the fourth Earl of Mount Edgcumbe recorded that he possessed "a document in Latin (MSS. vol. 1. p.58) April 16, 1516" when Richard Edgcumbe was seventeen or eighteen years of age in which the Vicar of Plymouth certified that he had published banns between "John Arundell, son and heir of Sir John Arundell," and "Mary Eggecombe" daughter of Sir Peter "and also between" Richard Edgcumbe, "son and heir of Sir Peter" and Elizabeth Arundell, daughter of Sir John." [William Henry, fourth Earl of Mount Edgcumbe], *Records of the Edgcumbe Family* (1888), 81. There is no evidence that the Latin document referred to by the Earl still exists. The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe possessed a noteworthy collection of manuscripts according to the *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: HMSO, 1871), x.

In late 1515, "Peter Edgcumbe knight and his wife Joan" were parties to a marriage settlement, but it is unclear whose marriage was involved. The date suggests one of the marriages of the two Edgcumbe with Lanherne. Her first husband, Charles Dinham, was a brother of Catherine Dinham, who was married to Sir Thomas Arundell (d.1485) of Lanherne. Catherine and Thomas were grandparents of the Lanherne siblings who married Mary and Richard Edgcumbe. Further, Catherine Dinham's sister, Margaret, married Sir Nicholas Carew, cousin of the Carews of Antony.[60]

The Edgcumbe estates stood on both shores of the River Tamar. Thus, bidding farewell to Sir Piers and his family, if Leland hired a local boatman who rowed more easily on an incoming tide up the river then turned west, he would have been in Antony Passage, the inlet on the map that is the mouth of the River Lynher. On the southern bank of that passage today sits the Antony House built in 1721. Nothing remains of the previous manor house, the home of "Carow of Antony in Cornewaulle by Aisch [Saltash]" that Leland saw.[61] The heir of the Cornish Carews, Thomas, was married to Elizabeth Edgcumbe, a daughter of Lady Joan Durnford and Sir Piers Edgcumbe. Some forty years after Leland's journey, Richard Carew (1555-1620), the eldest son of Thomas and Elizabeth, married Juliana Arundell of Trerice (1563-1629), the great granddaughter of Jane Grenvile.[62]

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siblings for whom the banns were published in 1516. Peter Edgcumbe knight and wife Joan, Marriage settlement, 8 October 1515, ME 823, CRO.

[60] ME 680, CRO; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 141.

[61] Smith, *Leland*, 1: 186. F.E. Halliday, Carew's modern editor, remarked that local tales related field stiles being made of some of the original house granite stones and that the modern Antony House has some of the old panels in the hall, 15. Apparently, a survey to establish the exact location of the original house at Antony is delayed because of the outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease in England in 2002. Oak paneling thought to have come from the previous house is at present attached to the wall in the private area of the house, William Richards to P.Y. Stanton, e-mail, 16 January 2003. Mr. Richards' parents and ancestors were employees of the Carew family from about the late 1700s, and he lived in Antony House from the early 1920s.

[62] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 12, 142.

The Carews at Antony, wrote Leland, were "Men of fair landes," and the same could be said of their Devonian cousins at Haccombe and Mohun's Ottery.[63] Leaving the River Tamar, we follow Leland's return journey eastward through southern Devon. Not far from the sea, he found "Hacham [Haccombe]" a "lordship with other landes" that "cam to one [of the Ca]rews, and diverse of t[his] name."[64] A few miles further on and the other side of Exeter, Leland took a side-trip and "left London way on the right hond and rode north est 3. miles to Mohun's Oterey."[65] There he met the lord of the manor, "Syr George Carew," who related to him the history of the family and their land ownership in the county.[66] Sir George was the great grandson of Nicholas Carew, who had married Margaret Dinham, a sister of Catherine Dinham who married Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne (d.1485).[67]

If, after leaving Mohun's Ottery, Leland had not retraced his steps to the London road but cut northwest across country, he would have found himself at Umberleigh only a few miles from Barnstaple, the point on his outward journey where we began tracing the familial web of the Grenvile sisters.[68] If the year was late 1542 or in 1543, he might have found Honor Grenvile living there, as a widow for a second time. If she was not at Umberleigh, then she might have been at her manor at Tehidy or visiting one of her sisters at manors Leland had passed on his journey west.

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[63] Smith, *Leland*, 1: 186.

[64] Ibid., 1: 224-25.

[65] Leland noted that the "town of Excester [Exeter]" was "a good mile and more in cumpace," and was "right strongly waullid and mainteinid," Smith, *Leland*, 1: 227.

[66] Ibid., 1: 240.

[67] Vivian, *Devon*, 135.

By writing notes of his observations of land and people as he travelled, Leland recorded the familial framework of the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles. Unwittingly, he foreshadowed the writings of men such as Richard Carew and William Camden who recorded contemporary interest in the importance of ancestry.[69] Contemporary honour lay in revealing ancestral connections to the world. In reaching back to reveal those connections, as Daniel Woolf noted, included were "broader kinship connections," not simply the line of direct inheritance.[70]

Kinship ties are incredibly complex even when there exists tangible evidence such as genealogical charts. Further complicating the tangle is the issue of affection in families, despite Lawrence Stone's thesis.[71] Determining affection between people is a difficult, if not impossible, task. Nonetheless, the task must be attempted, because within those attachments lies the longevity of their social web and their interconnectedness. That is why this work goes to such lengths to explore mundane information about the daily lives of the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles. By exploring what Michael de Certeau termed "merely the obscure background of social activity," these snippets of information reveal how real people lived and animate for us the faceless long dead.[72]

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[68] Distance calculated using Benjamin Donn's map.

[69] Camden and Carew were at Christ Church, Oxford together and were among a group of men at Oxford and Cambridge colleges in the late sixteenth century who developed significant interests in the study of geography. For discussions of these men and their work, particularly about local history, see Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1997); Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992). Richard Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, four centuries later, remains a significant work of chorography; the description or mapping of a region

[70] Daniel Woolf, "Ancestry, Honour and Authority in Early Modern England," paper presented at the University of Alberta, 2000. I am grateful to Dr Woolf for providing me with a copy of his paper.

[71] The issue of affection has been the focus of significant dispute among scholars particularly given Stone's work. See footnote 94 following for a particularly apt comment by G.R. Elton in this context.

Wives, husbands, parents, children, siblings, aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces, and cousins communicated their worries, happiness, plans, and actions from the mundane to the disastrous. Throughout their lives, they shared roles and responsibilities and maintained the familial network. Evidence for the bonds that held families together in good times but, particularly, in times of crisis, may not be found in official records. Sometimes, however, such evidence survives in correspondence, as in the case of Honor Grenvile, Lady Lisle, and her large family connection. *The Lisle Letters* provide a unique glimpse into the lives of many Arundells and Grenviles that in other family groups is denied to the modern viewer. Honor's devotion to her beloved Arthur, Lord Lisle, sets a tone of affection unsurpassed in existing contemporary writings.[73] If such profound affection existed between one wife and husband, then other examples are possible, and those instances will be found by examining myriad sources such as wills, household accounts, correspondence, a diary, and other writings. To slowly piece together a picture of family life, sympathetic understanding is required. Third-party comments yield gems of information, and legal documents reflect life-long commitments. Family life was varied and complex. Family members journeyed short and long distances to assist each other at both happy and difficult events. Sisters visited and supported each other in childbirth. Daily life involved cutting children's hair, buying exotic fruits for the table, engaging travelling foreign musicians, as well as travelling the county to manage one's own estates

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[72] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). De Certeau commented that what he "really" wished "to work out" was "*a science of singularity* [sic]; that is to say, a science of the relationship that links everyday pursuits to particular circumstances," ix. His idea should be born in mind when considering Charles Tilly's promotion, as noted earlier in this work, of the relationship between the experiences of living in families and large social structures and processes (see previous chapter 1 page 23).

and those of relatives, and visiting with relatives and other county peers. Brothers were employed as brokers to arrange marriage contracts. Mothers-in-law were trusted to manage affairs and be guardians. Life comprised the mundane, the exciting, the unusual, and the disastrous, and hidden in the daily activities were the bonds that held together the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles on a daily basis in good times and in bad. Those factors maintained and nurtured the intricate family web. In this enormous picture of family life, relationships endured even while they changed; "Blood may be thicker than water, but *family* [sic]" is "a fluid construct that changes over time and place."[74] Nonetheless, it was that very fluidity, the bending and accommodating when necessary within families, which provided endurance and survival. Such fluidity, however, could only be present with a solid foundation and longevity.

Evidence concerning spousal relations among the southwest group is disparate. The earliest example is that of Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne (d.1485) and his wife, Catherine Dinham, sister of John, Lord Dinham, one of the most important men in the land as a councilor to Henry VII. In his will dated 1485 and 1488, Sir Thomas left his wife, "Dame Katerin" in complete control of all his estates and responsible for their children.[75] The "faith and trust that I have in hir" is "more thenne I have in alle the world to have the giding and governaunce as wele of my landes as of my said children." Not only did Sir Thomas have a profoundly affectionate relationship with his wife, but his

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[73] The relationship Ralph Josselin recorded in his Diary between himself and his wife in the seventeenth century, for example, does not compare in affection and intensity with that of Lord and Lady Lisle's, Alan Macfarlane, ed., *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683* (London: Oxford, 1976).

[74] Kriste Lindenmeyer, "Margrit Eichler, *Family Shifts: Families, Policies, and Gender Equality,*" *Journal of Family History* 23, 3 (July 1998) 329.

[75] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4.

relationship with his mother-in-law, Dame Joan Dinham (d.1496), was also highly positive.[76] In his will, he directed

> that if my wife dye that my lady my Moder Dame Jane Dynham and John Byconill have the guiding and governaunce of John Arundell my soune and heire. And of all my children. And also I will that all the issues profittes Rentes and Revenues growing of all my landes ... be in the keping of the said lady my Moder Dame Jane Dynham and John Byconill.[77]

In addition, Thomas gave "full power and auctorite" to his "Moder" and his good friend, John Byconill, to administer his will. When Arundell died, his wife had sole responsibility for his children, affairs, and estates. If they both died, Lady Dinham shared that responsibility with John Byconill.[78]

The eldest son of Sir Thomas Arundell and Lady Catherine Dinham was Sir John Arundell (d.1545) whose second wife was Katherine Grenvile.[79] The idea of a good relationship between Katherine and John is significant, because the traditional picture of the Arundells of Lanherne is that by the early 1530s they were unsupportive of government policies, intransigent 'Catholics,' and so were being removed from official positions. Their actions culminated, supposedly, in their support of the 1549 rebellion, thus contributing significantly to the 'deep division' that some historians claim existed between the leading gentry families in the southwest. Yet, as is evident elsewhere in this work, a most positive relationship existed between both Katherine and her husband and Katherine and her maternal family. Further, Katherine and her sisters came from a Grenvile family for whom there was no hint of deviance from the norms practised by their peers in terms of traditional religion. Her parents, brother, Roger, and his wife, Margaret Whitley, for example, were all patrons of Tywardreth Priory on the south coast of Cornwall.[80] The house, according to John Leland "was a Priory of Black Monkes [Benedictines], celle sumtyme to a house in Normandy."[81]

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[76] In her will, apparently, Lady Jane Dinham made no mention of her Arundell grandchildren while providing bequests to her Carew and Zouche grandchildren. Possible factors for the difference may lie in both an older age of the Arundell grandchildren and the Arundell wealth. Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *Testamenta vetusta: being illustrations from wills, of manners, customs, &c. as well as of the descents and possessions of many distinguished families. From the reign of Henry the Second to the accession of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 (London: Nichols, 1826) 431-32.

[77] AD/37/50/14-16, CRO

[78] There is no record of John Byconill in the Arundell genealogies in Vivian's editions of the Heralds' visitations for Devon or Cornwall. Nor is there a pedigree for a Byconill family in those visitations. There are, however, Inquisitions post mortem for "John Byconyll" and his wife Elizabeth in 1504 and 1505, *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem: and other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office/prepared under the superintendance of the deputy keeper of the records*, vols. 1-3 *Henry VII* (London: HMSO, 1898; 1915; reprint Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1973), 439-40, 532-33, 554-55.

That Katherine Grenvile was an active spouse in her marriage with John Arundell and equally involved in the lives of her Arundell stepchildren is evident in two undated letters written to her by her husband. The first concerns the desertion in London of his pregnant daughter-in-law by his heir, John (c.1500-1557). Given the contents, this letter was written sometime between 1516 and, possibly, the mid-1520s. I "pray you to thincke no unkendenys that I have not writin unto you" before now, Sir John wrote to Katherine. Upon reaching London he was so upset that he "coude not writ the trewith unto" her. Although Arundell's words suggest that his failure to write to his wife was the result of his distress, equally they reflect his concern to spare her as long as possible the pain of the troublesome and devastating news. Their daughter-in-law, whom Sir John described as "bege and as men thinkyth queicke," was obviously in a late stage of pregnancy. [82] His

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[79] No evidence survives about Sir John's first wife, Eleanor Grey, daughter of the Marquis of Dorset.

[80] Nichols, *Collectanea,* 3: 110. Nichols' extract from the priory's calendar is not dated. The record of the Grenviles support, however, must have been prior to 1503, the date of Sir Thomas' marriage with Jane Hill, and after 1492 when Roger was married to Margaret Whitley. Byrne, 1: 404; Granville, 59.

[81] Smith, *Leland,* 1: 202; David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses* (London: Longman, 1971; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), 57, 79.

son's "great debt" apparently forced him to flee the country and abandon his wife who was "sad and hard up," and did "not know where to stay until" she gave birth. Further, Arundell wrote, he was making efforts to reach his son, and have him returned to England; meanwhile, he "must provide for her." So he made arrangements "between her friends" and himself, and stayed longer in London to see her settled.[83] Arundell made no comment regarding a need to arrange care for other grandchildren, so the unborn child probably was an awaited heir. Having his daughter-in-law remain in London for the birth of the child, presumably, was the result of it being unwise for her to travel in her pregnant state to Lanherne.

In the other letter to his wife, Sir John provided Katherine with information concerning affairs associated with the Marquis of Exeter. This letter must have been written before the execution of the nobleman in 1538, and refers to Arundell business, presumably with landed property, as well as affairs with the Marquis. Also included is a comment regarding the King and the monarch's secret plans concerning a French campaign.[84]

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[82] John Arundell, to [Katherine Arundell], Westminster, February [by 1545], AR 25/1, CRO. The letter written by Sir John is undated and he made no mention of having to arrange care for other grandchildren. The daughter-in-law is unnamed. The Arundell heir, John, married his first wife, Mary Edgcumbe, c.1516, but the only mother recorded of his children is his second wife, Elizabeth Danet. Mary could have been pregnant but not born any live children. John Arundell and Elizabeth Danet's eldest son, John, was born c.1527, but they had at least seven daughters any of whom might have been born earlier than John. For example, their daughter, Katherine, married Thomas Tregian possibly about 1536, so she may have been born by the mid-1520s at the latest. Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4; Byrne, 4: 386-87.

The Herald's visitations recorded two marriages for Sir John Arundell (d.1557). In the Arundell pedigree, John was recorded as having first married Catherine Edgcumbe then Elizabeth Danet, but in the Edgcumbe pedigree John's first wife was recorded as Mary Edgcumbe. No children are shown from the first marriage. The Herald's recorded Sir Piers Edgcumbe and his wife, Joan Durnford, as having four daughters, two of whom were named Mary and Catherine. Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4, 142. See previous footnote 59 for evidence of the marriages of the Edgcumbe and Arundell siblings.

[83] AR 25/1, CRO.

The two letters are diverse in their contents. The diversity shows that John and Katherine Arundell discussed and shared not only affairs that affected them deeply regarding their family, but also disparate economic and political business. Arundell's actions were those of a man who had a close and respectful relationship with his wife and in whose discretion he had considerable confidence. Sir John opened both his letters with the term "Bedfelow," but the word is difficult to accept with any certainty as an endearment.[85] Use of the term in the sixteenth century did not necessarily show affection between a wife and husband because "Bedfelow" was used to denote, literally, someone who shared the same bed, regardless of relationship or gender.[86] Given the affectionate relationship of the Arundell husband and wife; however, John's address to Katherine undoubtedly was an endearment.[87]

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[84] Sir John Arundel[l], to Katherine AR 25/2 [n.d.], CRO. O. J. Padel suggested in the Arundell Catalogue a date of c.1520-1544. However, the letter must have been written before 1538 as Sir John referred to meeting both "my Lord Marquis" and "Lord Dawbeneye" in Devon. Undoubtedly, Arundell referred to the Marquis of Exeter and Lord Daubeney, who was in Exeter's household, and the nobleman was executed in 1538. Byrne, 3: 25.

[85] Although partial transcription of the two letters in the Arundell catalogue at the CRO reads "my well-beloved bedfellow" and "my hearty beloved bedfellow," neither phrase is easily discernible in the original documents.

[86] *The Oxford English Dictionary* [*OED*] (1961), s.v. "Bedfellow." People of the same gender often shared the same bed even when growing up in a house not their own. It was a common practice to send young gentry children to live in other households, in order for them to be trained for their adult roles. Therefore, it is not surprising, for example, to find in a letter from Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland to his "Cosyn [Sir John] Arundell" that Percy referred to "my bedfellow yr son," H. Northumberland, to Sir John Arundell, n.d., AR 25/3, CRO. There are examples, also, of bedfellow being used in different contexts. First by Thomas St Aubyn in the 1530s in letters to his sister-in-law, Honor Lisle, in which Thomas referred to "yowr gentyll suster [Mary Grenvile] my lovinge bedfelowe" and, again to Mary, his "loving bedfellow." Byrne, 1: 343; 2: 294. Second, by Jacquetta Basset, the wife of Honor Lisle's son, George, likely in the 1560s or 1570s. Mrs. Basset wrote a letter to Sir John Arundell of Lanherne in which she challenged his claim of wreck within the Basset family's manor at Tehidy. She addressed him as "verye good cosyn and frynd," and her closing comment included her "umble commendacions" to him and "to my good ladye your bedfelowe." P.A.S. Pool, ed., "The Penheleg Manuscript," *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, n.s. 3, pt. 3 (1959): 174.

[87] In his letter to his wife about his son, Sir John's closing word is difficult to transcribe. Padel transcribed the word as "your armour." In the *OED*, no usage is provided for "armour" that makes sense in the context of this letter; however, given the vagaries of both language and handwriting in the sixteenth century there

Similar to his father, Thomas, Sir John's relationship with his wife is reflected also in his will, where he entrusted to Katherine "the rule and guydyng" of his children "until they be maryed."[88] Katherine and John had only one child, Mary. So the children to whom he referred were also those from his first marriage with Eleanor Grey. If Sir John had died at the time he made his will in 1513, rather than in 1545, then his widow would have had many years of responsibility ahead of her as all of the Arundell siblings were likely under age thirteen.[89] That Katherine was given responsibility for not only her daughter but also her Arundell stepchildren is unsurprising. By the fifteenth century, noblewomen had significant responsibilities and, often, they were left to execute the wills of their dead husband. The assignment of those responsibilities to a widow and more favourable treatment concerning jointure and dower suggests an environment in which their competence was recognized and valued.[90]

Another woman in the Arundell family played a role similar to Katherine's in the following generation. When Sir John Arundell of Lanherne died intestate in 1557, he was the male head of a very wealthy family, and the administration of his estate was granted to his widow, Lady Elizabeth. In 1557 and 1558, the Archbishop of Canterbury made two grants to Elizabeth Arundell providing her with the right to administer all her late

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are many possibilities. For example, the word could be a derivative of "amoroso," that is, "lover" or "gallant." Other possibilities include Latin "amans" and, the most obvious, the French "amour." *OED* (1961), s.v. "armour."

[88] John Arundell of Lanheron, Will, 2 April 1513, AR 21/9, CRO. A typed copy of the will is printed in Henry Lawson, *Genealogical collections illustrating the history of Roman Catholic families of England: based on the Lawson manuscript* (London, 1887), 3-4: 192.

[89] The Lanherne heir, John, was born c.1500. His sister, Jane, and half-sister, Mary, did not go to Court until 1536. Elizabeth Arundell, a sister of Jane and Mary, married Richard Edgcumbe in 1516 when he was at least sixteen and, probably, his bride also was young, Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4; Byrne, 4: 50; *Records of the Edgcumbe Family*, 81

[90] Jennifer C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Latter Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1992), 34.

husband's goods, moveable and immovable, spiritual and temporal.[91] If any of Elizabeth's children were unmarried, or even minors, when her husband died, provision for them, particularly for five daughters, presented a significant concern and challenge for her. Elizabeth's reference in her will to her "little daughter Dorothie" suggests at least one underage child.[92]

A similar challenge existed for Honor Grenvile, Lady Lisle, with the care of unmarried Basset children and stepchildren. The marriage of the Basset heir, John (1520-1541), was relatively easy for Honor to arrange, as he married Frances, a daughter of Honor's husband, Arthur Lisle, and his first wife, Eleanor Grey, Baroness Lisle. Nothing is known of Honor's relationship with her first husband, John Basset. By comparison, a great deal is known of her deeply devoted and intensely affectionate relationship with Arthur Plantagenet. The evidence in the *Lisle Letters* clearly reflects a profoundly loving marriage, an unparalleled example of such a relationship in the sixteenth century. During separations, such as when Honor went to England while Arthur remained at Calais, they wrote to each other letters of utter devotion. Their writings include phrases such as "Entirely beloved wife ... your own lovyng hussband for ever ... by her that is more yours than her own, which had much rather die with you there, than live here ... Mine own Sweetheart ... your true loving wife," and "Sweetheart, with the heart that is more yours than mine."[93] So significant is the evidence in the Lisle letters of the family management skills of women and the quality of spousal relationships that Geoffrey Elton was moved to remark that Honor

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[91] Reginald Pole, Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury, to Elizabeth Arundell, Grant, London, 27 November 1557, AR 21/13/1; Reginald Pole, Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury, to Elizabeth Arundell, Grant, London, 27 November 1557, AR 21/13/2, CRO.

[92] Dame Elizabeth Arundell, Inventory of goods, 17 October 1564, AR 21/16; Dame Elizabeth Arundell, Inventory of goods, n.d., AR 21/17; Dame Elizabeth Arundell, Will, Probate copy, 12 June and 9 November 1564, AR 21/15/1,2, CRO; Dame Elizabeth Arundell, Will extract, 12 June 1564, AD 37/50/44/17-18, CRO; Dame Elizabeth Arundell, Will, 12 June 1564, Probate 9 November 1564, PCC, 305 Stevenson (1564). PROB 11/47 ff. 227, Public Record Office [PRO].

> would have been astonished to hear that 16th-century women lived a life of helpless slavery, and the loving relations between herself and her much older husband hammer yet another nail in the coffin housing the strange thesis that marital affection was unknown in England before the 18th century.[94]

What influence such love and affection displayed between parents had on their children is impossible to say. However, a suggestion may be taken from the naming of Honor and Arthur's Basset grandchildren. John Basset and his wife, Frances, named their first child Honor suggesting that John's mother was the child's godmother. Their second child, the Basset heir, born after John's death, was named Arthur, a departure from naming four generations of Basset heirs as John.[95]

Honor also managed the lives of her Basset children, particularly her daughters. An ongoing theme in many of the Lisle Letters is one of Honor continually seeking advancement and preferment for the children.[96] As a widow, a *femme sole*, she had responsibility for the entire Basset family business and affairs. Legally, her responsibility ended once she remarried and was subsumed again under a husband's control. In reality, however, Honor exercised enormous responsibility not only with respect to the children, but also in the management of the extensive Basset estates.

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[93] Byrne, 5: 313, 284, 649, 655, 666.

[94] G.R. Elton, "Viscount Lisle at Calais," *The Reception of the Lisle Letters 1981-1982: A Selection of Reviews from England and the United States in Chronological Order From Publication Date to Presentation of the Carey-Thomas Award* [originally published in *The London Review of Books*, 16 July 1981] (Chicago: University of Chicago, n.d.), 20.

[95] Vivian, *Devon*, 45-47. The name Arthur does not appear in the Basset genealogy compiled from the Herald's Visitation going back as far as the mid-eleventh century.

[96] Byrne, 3: 8.

An affectionate marriage was not the prerogative of only one Grenvile in the first half of the sixteenth century. While far less evidence is available, it is clear that Honor Grenvile's nephew, Sir Richard Grenvile, and his wife, Maude Bevill, also shared an affectionate and supportive marriage.[97] Lady Maude has never been a subject for study by historians. This is hardly surprising given that there is very little evidence to illuminate her existence, other than knowing that she was the daughter and co-heir of John Bevill of another ancient Cornish family, and the sister of Mary Bevill who married Sir John Arundell of Trerice (d.1560).[98] There are references to her as "Lady Grenvile" in some of the *Lisle Letters*, but usually as a third party to whom salutations were sent. From those instances little may be inferred given the accepted forms of contemporary address.[99]

Other letters, however, suggest some of Lady Grenvile's personality and reflect more of her life. Although small in numbers, the letters written by Lady Maude reveal a literate capable woman, who shared a loving and trusting relationship with her husband. In 1539, Maude Grenvile was at Stowe and wrote to her husband's aunt, Honor Lisle, in Calais. Her writing, as Muriel St Clare Byrne, the editor of the *Lisle Letters*, points out, reflects the graciousness of a gentlewoman. The letter conveys Lady Grenvile's good wishes to her aunt and to other women in the English community at Calais, where Maude lived whilst her husband was Marshall. In addition, Maude took pains to impress on Lady Lisle the high regard in which Lord and Lady Russell, with whom the Grenviles appear to have spent some time, held her aunt.[100]

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[97] Maude Bevill is termed Maud in the Inquisition post mortem [IPM] following her death, Mawde in one of the IPM's following her husband's death, and Matilda in Vivian's edition of the Herald's visitations, *Cornwall*, 30, 191; Greynfild, Maud widow, Chancery Inq. p.m. Ser. II. Vol. 90 (21), Cornwall, 9 May 4 Edw.VI, and Grenfeld, Richard knt., Chancery Inq. p.m. Ser. II. Vol. 90 (26), Devon, 22 July, 4 Edward VI [1550], Westcountry Studies Library, Exeter [hereafter IPM, WSL].

[98] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 191.

[99] For example, Byrne, 2: 316-17, and 3: 264, 576.

The letter to Lady Lisle was written at the same time as a letter from Sir Richard Grenvile to Lord Lisle, and Lady Grenvile wrote them both.[101] It is unlikely that, over time, Maude penned only one letter for her husband. Rather, it suggests that she acted in a secretarial capacity for her husband and, possibly, for at least one eminently practical reason. Byrne commented that Richard Grenvile's handwriting and spelling were both atrocious.[102] Sixteenth-century handwriting is often difficult to decipher. Nonetheless, it is feasible that Richard's writing was unintelligible, even by contemporary standards, so it made sense for someone else, at least sometimes, to write his letters, in this case his wife. Maud's handling of Richard's correspondence reflects that she held his trust and confidence. At times, the letters undoubtedly were politically sensitive, as Richard held an important appointment from the Crown.[103]

The idea of Maud's influence with her husband and her close relationship with him may be considered in other contexts. Richard and Maude Grenvile died in 1550, some nine and ten months, respectively, after the events at Trematon Castle.[104] The rough treatment described by Richard Carew, to which the rebels at the Castle subjected the Grenviles, may well have contributed to their demise.[105] Their deaths within thirty-nine days of each other also suggests a phenomenon known in modern society, the death of one spouse soon after the death of the other when the marriage has had particularly significant longevity.[106] It is tempting to omit this information as irrelevant or too far stretching a point. However, again, it is precisely this type of seemingly mundane information that must be added to the picture in order to understand more clearly the relationships between the people in this study. The true nature of any marriage relationship is difficult, if not impossible, for outsiders to determine, not least when it occurred four centuries ago. However, further understanding is possible by examining Richard's will. He left to his wife "during the term of seventy years, if she so long live his mansion and lands called Buckland," a substantial property.[107] Although it is difficult to determine if that bequest met, exceeded, or was less than the one third of the husband's estate left to his widow as required by law, Grenvile is helpful in that respect. "If this does not suffice for Dame Mawde's jointure," he wrote, "she is to have 'my mansyon place in the towne of Bedyford' Crowere and Shurleshoke for her life."[108]

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[100] Ibid., 1: 87; 5: 640-41. Under her husband's uncle, Lord Lisle, Sir Richard was appointed Marshall of Calais, Byrne, 2:428. It is clear from Lady Grenvile's good wishes to other ladies in Calais that she accompanied her husband to live there. In March of 1539, Lord Russell was appointed President of the newly formed Council of the West were he remained until November 1539, Joyce A. Youings, "The Council of the West," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. (1960), 10: 54. Given that Lady Grenvile's letter was written at the end of August 1539, it is reasonable to assume that the Grenviles were in the company of Lord and Lady Russell in the southwest.

[101] Byrne, 5, 639-40.

[102] Ibid., 2: 429.

[103] The activity of gentry and noble Tudor women in political affairs is shown, for example, by Barbara J. Harris, "Women and Politics in Early Tudor England," *The Historical Journal*, 33, 2 (1990): 259-81, and Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*.

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[104] There is a misprint in Vivian's edition of the *Visitations,* which records Lady Grenvile's death, according to the Kilkhampton Parish Register, as April 1580. The Register and her Inquisition post mortem in 1550, however, both recorded her death in April 1550, the month after her husband's death. Vivian, *Cornwall,* 191; Kilkhampton Parish Register, Volume 3, Burials 1539-1839, Reel no. 0897356 (Salt Lake City, Utah, Family History Centre), 3, microfilm; Greynfild, Maud widow, IPM, WSL.

[105] Carew, *Survey,* 112.

[106] The chronologically close demise of long-married spouses is a phenomenon evident in modern society and within the knowledge or experience of many people.

[107] Granville, 84-85; In addition to the buildings, the Buckland property comprised almost 600 acres of good farmland, woods, orchards, and parks on the banks of the River Tamar. As a legacy of its former status, the estate was free of any annuities charged on the abbey and those charges remained the responsibility of the Crown. The estate's value is reflected in the fact that Sir Richard paid about 233 pounds for the property in 1541 and 1542, and, in 1580, his grandson sold it to Sir Francis Drake for 3,400 pounds. Youings, *Dissolution of the Monasteries,* 119, 122-24, 217-18, 234-35; Rowse wrote that "little or nothing had been done at Buckland" from the time of the older Sir Richard, and the major building conversion from abbey to house was undertaken in the 1570s by his grandson, Sir Richard. According to Rowse, Sir Richard's son, Roger, before his death in 1545, lived in the Abbey at Buckland. After that "it is not likely that there was much family life there" until the conversion from abbey to residence was completed in the late 1570s when it became the younger Sir Richard's main residence. *Tudor Cornwall,* 123-24.

In addition, Sir Richard provided his wife with "Stawe co. Cornwall, Stawe Parke," and other lands. "Stawe," presumably, was the Grenvile home manor of Stowe in northeast Cornwall. Richard may have planned to leave it in Maud's hands given that their grandson and heir Richard, the later Elizabethan hero, was eight years old when his grandfather died and was possibly living with his mother and her second husband, Thomas Arundell (d.1574), at Clifton on the banks of the River Tamar in southeast Cornwall.[109] Richard appointed his wife as one of his executors together with three of his male relatives. "'Maude,'" he stated, was "'only to meddle with personal goods.'"[110] His use of the word meddle was likely understood as Lady Maude being given sole responsibility for all personal matters, although it is unclear whether Richard meant to exclude her from estate management or exclude the other executors from interference in her affairs.[111] Given their close and loving relationship, it is most likely that Grenvile intended to leave his wife with considerable control, but made provision for her to be well assisted. In addition, it may be inferred that by his bequest of Stowe to his wife, both Richard and Maude recognised the need for her to control the Grenvile's primary manor as a home for their grandson and heir, Richard. The scenario is supported by Lady

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[108] Grenfeld, Richard knt., Devon, IPM, WSL.

[109] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 13, 191.

[110] Grenfeld, Richard knt., Devon, IPM, WSL.

[111] *OED* (1961), s.v. "Meddle."

Maud's application to the Court of Wards for her grandson's wardship immediately on the death of her husband.[112] The evidence shows that Lady Maude was an active participant with her husband in their married life. In addition, if she had lived, she was appointed to be equally active in family affairs in her widowhood. The picture of her as an eminently capable woman involved in political, legal, and business affairs reflects a marriage in which she was an active, not a passive, participant.

Maude Grenvile, together with her aunts, Honor and Katherine, and the other Arundell women relatives discussed above were active participants in their spousal relationships, which suggests that they were equally active in wider familial activities as the evidence for Honor confirms. Kinship bonds had to be fostered and nurtured and various family members undertook that work in different ways. William Carnsew was an energetic 'gadder abouter' among his relatives, friends, and other peers in Cornwall and Devon.[113] Similarly, Richard Carew described the continual rounds of visiting undertaken by and between couples in his home region. Locally, he wrote, women

> converse familiarly together, & oftn visit one another. A gentleman and his wife will ride to make mery with his next neighbours; and after a day or twayne, those two couples goe to a third: in which progresse they encrease like snowballs, till through their burdensome waight they breake againe.[114]

By comparison, Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes considered that women could hold "together a kin divided" between counties, and keep "alive loyalties among their menfolk."[115] Linda Levy Peck noted the important roles performed by women in a family group in Buckinghamshire. Over three generations in the extensive Temple family, women were active in all aspects of family affairs. They participated in economic, political, and social life, estate management, the transmission of political news, and in establishing close county ties.[116] The idea of the importance of women in maintaining the wider kinship ties is illustrated visually in a painting of one English family example, that of Dorothy and John Kaye in 1567. Two paintings celebrating family and their connections portray John among portraits of his children, while lists of the names of the extended family surround Dorothy.[117] The format suggests that Dorothy, rather than her husband, was the fulcrum upon which the many families comprising the Kayes depended for the maintenance of their interconnectedness. These roles for women in gentry families were not confined to England, for experiences were similar in the Netherlands. The "reality of the lives of gentry women" between 1500 and 1650 in that area of the Continent, said Sherrin Marshall, was "that they were often educated, and shared in a wide range of familial, political, and social activities."[118] Further, in an extension of the ideas on the importance of ancestry offered by Daniel Woolf, Elizabeth Van Houts highlighted the importance of the memories of women in families. Their memories often provided the record of significant familial links, inheritance patterns, and property rights.[119]

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[112] Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, 48.

[113] William Carnsew's daily life as reflected in his diary is discussed later in this chapter.

[114] Carew, *Survey*, 64 v.

[115] Heal and Holmes, 95.

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[116] Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage & Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Unwin Hyman, 1990; rep. London: Routledge, 1991), 76-77.

[117] Heal and Holmes, 92-93. The paintings of John Kaye and his wife Dorothy consist of two wooden panels painted on both sides, with one having a date of 1567. Panel 1 has John Kaye at the centre with small full-length portraits of his children on either side. The painting of Dorothy Kaye portrays her at the centre surrounded by lists of family members. The artist is unknown. The paintings are on display at the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, and are in the collection of Kirklees Community History Service. I am grateful to John Rumsby, the Collections Manager, Kirklees Community History Service, for assisting me with this information.

[118] Sherrin Marshall, *The Dutch Gentry 1500-1650: Family, Faith, and Fortune* (New York: Greenwood, 1987), 164.

A formal education, possibly, was not available to Honor Grenvile; however, when she went to live on the Continent she took with her her own brand of management of family affairs. Throughout the years in Calais, she continued to oversee management of the Basset estates in Devon and Cornwall, in the latter county with the help of her brother-in-law, Thomas St Aubyn. Honor has not been a focus of study for historians, except in *The Lisle Letters*, where she is a main character. Her prominence in that collection of writings is because of her second marriage in 1529 to Arthur, Lord Lisle (c.1462/63-1542), an illegitimate son of Edward IV and an uncle of Henry VIII.[120] With the exception of Muriel St Clare Byrne, editor of the *Letters*, contemporary and modern historians have tended to promote a very negative picture of Honor. Moreover, that picture was often in passing references rather than in full studies of her such as *The Lisle Letters*.[121]

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[119] Elizabeth Van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); D.R. Woolf, "A Feminine Past? Gender, Genre, and Historical Knowledge in England, 1500-1800," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (June 1997): 654.

[120] Sir John Basset, Honor's first husband, died in 1528. Arthur Lisle was the illegitimate son of Edward IV and Elizabeth Lucy, and Edward was Henry VIII's grandfather. Lisle's birth date is indeterminate but was probably in the early 1460s. Vivian, *Devon*, 46; Byrne, 1: 99, 364-65.

[121] There are at least three M.A. theses written that focus on Honor Lisle. Shelley Crocker Warren, "Honor Plantagenet: Lady Lisle" (M.A. thesis, North Carolina State University of Raleigh, 1978); Dakota Lee Hamilton, "A Tudor Woman of Influence: A study of the relationship between Henry VIII's chief minister Thomas Cromwell and Lady Lisle during the years 1533-1540" (M.A. thesis, University of Louisville, 1989); Shirley Edith Halpern, "Honor, Lady Lisle: The Role of a Noble Woman in Tudor Society (M.A. thesis, Arizona State University, 1994).

These three works provide a wide spectrum of views on Honor Grenvile. Warren's highly unsympathetic portrayal revealed Honor as a conniving domineering opportunist and dogmatic 'Roman Catholic' whose personality and actions significantly contributed to the ruination of her husband, Lord Lisle, In comparison, the other writers were not vitriolic in their opinions of Honor. Halpern, interestingly, relative to the focus in this work on the southwestern family group, noted the significance of the "minutiae of everyday life" in her narrative on Tudor life through the "eyes" of a noble family. In complete contrast to Warren's work, Hamilton portrayed Honor as a strong capable woman intent on promoting every aspect of

The negativity began in contemporary writings by two men of highly diverse stations. Within weeks of the Lisle's arrival in Calais in 1533, Thomas Cromwell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, expressed concerns to the new Governor regarding the inappropriate, but unspecified, involvement of his wife in government affairs.[122] The second man was Elis Gruffudd, "a soldier in the Calais Retinue."[123] Lord Lisle was appointed Governor of Calais in 1533. In his chronicle, Gruffudd recorded the purported rumour circulating in Calais that Lady Lisle "'was the mother of the evil'" that befell the family in 1540.[124] The disaster occurred when Lord Lisle was incarcerated in the Tower by order of the King. In the turmoil surrounding the eventual downfall of Cromwell, Lisle was implicated and suspected of betraying Calais to Rome. Honor and her children were interrogated and detained under house arrest in Calais until Arthur's death, within hours of his release from prison in 1542. Gruffudd made particular reference to Honor in those

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her family's affairs, particularly through a friendship with the second most important man in the kingdom, Thomas Cromwell.

That view of a close and significant friendship between Honor and her husband and Cromwell, is extremely important considering the religious identity of both Honor and Cromwell. The question of Cromwell's religious stance for decades provided historians, particularly G.R. Elton and A.G. Dickens with a focus for their work. The jury is still out on the topic. For a trail of the 'story' see, for example, R.B. Merriman who saw Cromwell as a man who used religion only as a political tool, *The Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* (Oxford: Clarendon 1902; reprint 1968). Despite the focus on Tudor government and the forefront role in change played by Cromwell in Elton's life work, he injected into his portrayal of Cromwell some sense that religion meant more to Cromwell than only political machination. All of Elton's works cannot be cited here but a good place to begin reading about Elton's perspective is with *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (1953), "King or Minister? The Man Behind the Henrician Reformation," *History* 39 (1954), and *England Under the Tudors* (London, 1965). By the time of writing his later works such as *Policy and Police* and *Reform and Reformation*, Elton adhered more to Dickens' view of Cromwell as a man highly motivated by religious ideas. Dickens work from 1959 has supported a wealth of scholarship. See, for example, A.G. Dickens, *Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation* (London: English Universities' Press, 1959), and *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken, 1964); A.J. Slavin, *The Precarious Balance: English Government and Society, 1450-1640* (New York, 1973); C.S.L. Davies, *Peace, Print and Protestantism, 1450-1558* (London: Harte-Davis MacGibbon, 1976); J. Fines, ed., *A Biographical Register of Early English Protestants, 1525-1558* (Oxford, 1981).

[122] The Lisles went to Calais in June 1533, and Cromwell's letter is dated September 1, 1533, Byrne, 1: 6, 552-53.

[123] Ibid., 1: 361. Byrne discussed Gruffudd's reliability and concluded that where his reports were verifiable using other sources he was found, generally, to be accurate, 4: 343-44.

events because he saw her as responsible for the family's downfall. He claimed that she intended marrying one of her daughters to a French nobleman, and such a marriage was an alliance with England's religious enemies.[125] Gruffudd also saw Lady Lisle as a persecutor of religious reformers, which was certainly the view of John Foxe three decades later.[126] Foxe claimed that she was both a persecutor of reformers at Calais, a "wicked" and "evil" woman, and shown to be an enemy of the reformed religion by her continued Catholic practices.[127]

Some modern writers have been no kinder in their treatment of Lady Lisle. In 1902, R.B. Merriman considered that Honor was a woman whose stubborn adherence to traditional religion was the cause of her husband's arrest for treason.[128] Although G.R. Elton commented that Merriman's scholarship was passé, Elton still described Honor as "ruthless and noisy."[129] Lawrence Stone gave credence to "the ugly rumours flying about Calais that she was in love with one" of her husband's "chaplains."[130] Byrne said that Cromwell "obviously thought that Honor Lisle had too much influence over her husband, but that it looked as if Cromwell objected because he knew her to be inconveniently

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[124] Ibid., 6: 138.

[125] Ibid., 6: 138.

[126] Ibid., 4: 375.

[127] Rev. George Townsend, *Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: with a life of the martyrologist, and vindication of the work*, vol. 5 (1837-41), 498, 505, 516.

[128] Merriman, 5: 164.

[129] Elton, "Viscount Lisle at Calais," 21.

[130] Lawrence Stone, "Terrible Times," *The Reception of the Lisle Letters 1981-1982: A Selection of the Reviews from England and the United States in Chronological Order from Publication Date to presentation of the Carey-Thomas Award* [originally published in *The New Republic*, 5 May 1982] (Chicago: UP, n.d.), 42.

attached to the older mode of worship."[131] What is particularly interesting about the criticisms of Honor Lisle, whether contemporary or modern, is that they criticize her most often based on both her religious practices and gender. The religious picture provided good fodder for John Foxe, the prominent Anglican apologist, and the negative gender picture has led to the view that she was the dominant figure in the family over a weak, ineffective, and elderly husband. It was to her that people seeking the ear of the Lord Deputy made overtures. We could view her, however, as a capable woman, active in all aspects of a very loving marriage relationship, competent in estate and family management in both England and Calais, and with a religious identity far more complex than previously thought.

The Lisle Letters clearly reflect Honor's commitment to providing for the lives of her daughters. Preferment at Court for the girls was a significant goal, and she garnered assistance from both an employee and a family member. Throughout the many months that John Husee, the Lisle's agent in London, negotiated positions at Court for Honor Lisle's Basset daughters, Anne and Katherine, invariably he sought the assistance of the Countess of Sussex. The Countess was Mary Arundell, Honor's niece, and the daughter of her sister, Katherine Arundell at Lanherne. Husee began his efforts on behalf of Lady Lisle in 1536.[132] After over a year of hard work, his perseverance was rewarded and Anne Basset became a member of Queen Jane Seymour's household, and Anne's sister, Katherine, a member of Lady Rutland's.[133]

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[131] Byrne, 1:34.

[132] Ibid., 3: 409; 4: 107-109, 128, 130, 138-39, 144.

[133] Ibid., 4: 150-51.

The appointments might not have been possible without the assistance provided by Lady Sussex and Lady Rutland, Arthur Lisle's cousin.[134] Mary Arundell took a personal interest in her two young Basset cousins, and ensured that they were dressed appropriately for their roles at Court. Mary, on occasion, even loaned her own clothes to the young women for, as Husee wrote to Lady Lisle, "My Lady of Sussex is very good and loving to" your daughters.[135] Anne Basset's service to Queen Jane lasted only five weeks, as the Queen died on October 24, 1537. Three weeks later, Anne was living with her cousin, the Countess of Sussex, at her home in Essex, and to her Honor Lisle wrote, "I perceive your good lord and you have taken my daughter Anne unto you."[136] Just before Christmas 1537, Husee indicated in a letter to Lady Lisle that Anne had upset her cousin, Mary, by some indiscretion. Consequently, Honor sent a number of placatory gifts to her niece via Husee.[137] Whatever the problem, Mary accepted the gifts with pleasure and held no grudge against Anne, even instructing Husee to have made for Anne "a gown of lion tawny satin, turned up with velvet of the same colour, and also to buy her a standard for her gowns."[138] Seeking family assistance to obtain preferment at Court was an accepted and usual part of the social environment in which Honor and her family lived. Obligation and expectation, however, were not always accompanied by affection in the family context. In the case of the Countess of Sussex and her Basset nieces, there seems to have been a positive emotional attachment.

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[134] Ibid., 4: 106.

[135] Ibid., 4: 163, and 167.

[136] Ibid., 4: 183,

[137] Ibid., 4: 185.

[138] A "standard" was a large packing-case or chest, Ibid., 4: 186.

While living at Calais, Honor maintained contact with at least two of her sisters, Mary and Jane, despite marriages and distance. The letters in the *Lisle* collection written by Mary Grenvile's husband, Thomas St Aubyn, to his sister-in-law, Honor Lisle, were reports, usually, of his management of her Basset estates at Tehidy in Cornwall. Sometimes he mentioned Mary, as in letters written in 1533 and 1534 when Thomas sent his good wishes to Honor along with those of "yowr gentyll suster my lovinge bedfelowe." [139] When Mary wrote to her sister, Honor, in 1537 she was fulsome in her praise for her husband.[140] These snippets of evidence suggest good familial relationships not only between the St Aubyn spouses but also between them and Honor.

Honor also maintained her relationship with the Arundell and Chamond families into which her eldest sister, Jane Grenvile, married in north Cornwall. In late 1532, Honor arranged for venison from her Basset estates at Umberleigh to be sent "at [the] marriage" of "my Lady Chamond['s] son," Richard, and another for the wedding of her niece, daughter of her sister, Mary St Aubyn.[141] Jane Grenvile's eldest son, Sir John Arundell of Trerice (d.1560), visited and corresponded with his aunt and uncle at Calais and he embarked on a business venture with his uncle.[142] *The Lisle Letters* contain no further references to Jane Grenvile, Lady Chamond, only to her eldest son, Sir John Arundell. The references fall into three relatively distinct groupings, all of which in one way or another involve finances. In 1536, Sir John obviously paid a visit to his aunt and uncle in Calais and, upon his return to England, twice sent to them his thanks. The first comment was sent through a Lisle servant in England, Thomas Warley, and the second by Arundell's own letter with a shipment of "salt hides." [143] Arundell asked Lord Lisle to take some of the hides as "provision for the King or for his retinue ... [or] his Grace's town of Calais." If any hides remained "and there be no restraint in your town of Calais," he asked that his servant be allowed to "ship the said hides to the parts of France or Flanders for to make the best that he can do with that or else to bring a' back again the said hides into England." [144] Seemingly, Sir John hoped to capitalize on his relationship with the Lisles. He hoped his uncle would purchase some of the hides for the government retinue, encourage Calais residents to purchase some more, then expedite the passage of the goods across the Continent for further sales. In 1536, Arundell's aunt and uncle were in a position to assist him with his business, so there was an economic advantage to his remaining in contact with them.

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[139] Ibid., 1: 343; 2: 294.

[140] Ibid., 4: 326.

[141] Ibid., 1: 324-27. Byrne noted that the name of the Chamond son could not be determined. However, according to the Herald's Visitations from her second marriage to Sir John Chamond Jane Grenvile had only one son, Richard. Vivian, *Cornwall*, 84.

The second set of circumstances concerning Sir John and the Lisles, which shows the nephew in a very negative light vis-à-vis his aunt and uncle, is a case of mistaken identity by Byrne. In the index to *The Lisle Letters,* there are seven references to Sir John Arundell of Trerice that relate to letters written by John Husee, the Lisle's agent in England. Lord Lisle was the recipient of six of the letters and Lady Lisle of one between 13 October and 5 December 1536.[145] The documents imply that, for those two months, Husee continually expected "Mr Arundell" to act and provide monies to assist Lord Lisle. The action revolved around a dispute between Lord Lisle and Lord Beauchamp, Edward

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[142] Ibid.,

[143] Ibid, 3: 280, and 306 -307

[144] Ibid., 3: 306-307.

[145] Ibid., 6: 316.

Seymour, later Duke of Somerset, who was owed money by Lisle and who received some of Lisle's lands because the money was not repaid. The tone of Husee's letters to the Lisles reflects the seriousness of the situation. "There was never matter troubled my wits so much as this hath done," he wrote. "Mr Arundell" failed to assist Lord Lisle.[146] Byrne interprets the "Mr Arundell" to have been Sir John Arundell of Trerice, the Lisles' nephew. But M.L. Bush clearly shows that the "Mr Arundall" referred to in the affair was a London merchant persuaded to loan money to Lisle, but who unexpectedly disappeared from the city without assisting the constantly and desperately underfunded Lisle.[147] Thus, it was not John Arundell of Trerice who deserted his aunt and uncle when they were in dire need of his economic support. Byrne mistakenly portrayed their relationship as negative. That seemingly low point in their relationship then provided for Byrne a negative environment into which she placed Sir John's actions in other familial affairs related to the Lisles.

The first instance involved Sir John Arundell's attempts to recoup a debt owed to him by Walter Staynings. Staynings was the husband of Arundell's cousin, Elizabeth, a daughter of Phillipa Grenvile, who was a sister of Jane and Honor Grenvile, Arundell's mother and aunt.[148] The Staynings affair was recorded in letters dated between 1533 and 1535.[149] Walter Staynings obviously had severe financial problems with numerous debts that resulted in his imprisonment between 1533 and 1535. As Byrne pointed out, it is impossible to know the true story of Walter's affairs:

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[146] Ibid., 3: 501, 503, 522, 524, 526, 533, and 539

[147] M.L. Bush, "I. The Lisle-Seymour Land Disputes: A Study of Power and Influence in the 1530s," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 9, No.3 (1966): 266-67.

[148] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 191; Byrne, 2: 164. Elizabeth was the daughter of Honor's sister, Phillipa Grenvile, and her first husband Francis Harris. Phillipa's second marriage was to Humphrey Arundell, her brother-in-law, and brother of Sir John of Lanherne married to Phillipa's youngest sister, Katherine Grenvile. For Phillipa Grenvile's ancestry see Appendix E page 325.

[149] Byrne, 2: 165, 170, 541; 4: 300.

> it is impossible to tell whether he [Staynings] was merely a feckless, extravagant, and hopelessly unbusinesslike young man, or to some extent the victim of conspiracy. He had got himself into the power of Sir John Arundell and other creditors as thoroughly as any unhappy wastrel of Elizabethan or later drama, not, apparently, through vicious living but simply through carelessness.[150]

Either Staynings was just an unfortunate young man who had overextended his resources because of incompetence or generosity or, as Byrne suggests, he was a victim of unscrupulous men who attempted to acquire some of Stayning's property in Somerset.[151]

In Byrne's interpretation of the events, there is confusion between Sir John Arundell of Trerice with his namesake and cousin at Lanherne. Walter Staynings wrote six letters to Thomas Cromwell begging for assistance with his financial troubles. Byrne says Cromwell was "'influenced'" by Sir Thomas Arundell "representing the interests of Sir John, his brother, the head of the family."[152] There is no record of Sir John Arundell of Trerice having a brother named Thomas. Sir Thomas Arundell, who was prominent at court in the 1530s and 1540s, was a younger brother of Sir John at Lanherne. Either Byrne confused the two Sir Johns, or Sir Thomas was intervening on behalf of his cousin at Trerice.

The second negative incident involving Sir John Arundell of Trerice is an apparent draft (Byrne was unsure whether a formal copy of the letter was ever sent) of a letter dated 1539 written by Lord Lisle and addressed to the Bishop of Bath and Wells.[153]

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[150] Byrne, 2: 166.

[151] Ibid., 2: 164 - 70.

[152] Ibid., 2: 170.

[153] Ibid., 5: 560.

Lisle claimed that John Arundell of Trerice, who held the advowson of the parish church of Selworthy, granted it to Lisle's chaplain at Lisle's request. Lisle was informed "years after" that Arundell "had granted another advowson of the same church" to someone else. When Lisle wrote to Arundell, Sir John replied "that he had given forth none [other] advowson of the said benefice neither none will give." Lisle was now asking the Bishop to rectify the matter.

All these incidents serve to portray Sir John in a highly negative light in terms of particular familial relationships, but discrepancies challenge that picture. The mistaken identity by Byrne of Sir John for the London merchant, "Mr Arundall," removes from the scene a major incident reflecting negatively on the relationship between Sir John and his aunt and uncle. In addition, the incident concerning the debtor, Walter Staynings, and the affair over the advowson are highly subjective, and Byrne recognized problems with Stayning's character.

In the dispute over the advowson, Sir John defended himself as innocent of Lisle's charge. There is only Lisle's word that there was a problem, as there are neither parish nor bishop's registers to support his claim. It must be remembered in these pictures of Sir John constructed by Byrne, that she had devoted her life to working with the writings of Lord and Lady Lisle. As some of her reviewers note, she "is endearingly involved with her characters," totally "in love with her subject," and "driven ... by ... utter commitment and loving involvement."[154] In addition to her life-long relationship with and affection and sympathy for Lord and Lady Lisle, Byrne clearly made the separation of the Arundell families into Catholic and "the Trerice branch ... who were Reformation in their sympathies." Therefore, it is conceivable that Byrne wove her story to create a negative picture of the male head of the Trerice family. Thus, Byrne's work unknowingly, perhaps, added credence to the "deep division" seen by some historians to have existed among the most prominent southwest gentry in 1549, and dividing the family group at the centre of this work.[155]

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[154] Christopher Hill, "Tiptoe Through the Tudors," *The Reception of the Lisle Letters 1911-1982: A Selection of the Reviews from England and the United States in Chronological Order from the Publication Date to Presentation of the Carey-Thomas Award* [originally published in *The New York Review of Books*, 11 June 1981] (Chicago: University of Chicago, n.d.), 10; J.H. Plumb, "Henry VIII Was the Man to See," *The Reception of the Lisle Letters 1911-1982: A Selection of the Reviews from England and the United States in Chronological Order from the Publication Date to Presentation of the Carey-Thomas Award*

There is no evidence of division, deep or otherwise, between the Grenvile sisters. On the contrary, relationships were alive and well between Honor and her close and extended family, and, from the early days of their marriages, between Katherine and Jane, the youngest and the oldest of Honor's sisters, matriarchs of Lanherne and Trerice. In the Lanherne household accounts for the years 1503 to 1505, Sir John Arundell recorded payments of money for his "wyfe to put in her purse" and, on another occasion, for his "wyfe when she went to Efford."[156] With Efford as her destination on the later occasion, Lady Katherine must have been visiting her older sister, Jane, who was married to Sir John Arundell of Trerice and lived on the Arundell manor at Efford near Stowe. There is no record of any expenses incurred by Katherine's husband, Sir John, on her visit to Efford, so, possibly, he did not accompany his wife. Even if he did, the provision of money for her to visit her sister reflects his ensuring that Katherine had funds for her

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[originally published in *The New York Times Book Review*, 14 June 1981] (Chicago: University of Chicago, n.d.), 15; Elton, "Viscount Lisle at Calais," 19.

[155] For example: "1549 was the parting of the ways," Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 289; "deep divisions within the gentry, and particularly within the élite of families," Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 196; "the deep division in west-country society which opened up in 1549," Youings, "The South-Western rebellion," 117.

[156] [Account book of John Arundell], 1503-1505, AR 26/2, CRO.

journey. Sir John did not signify that the visit of his wife to her sister was in any way unique. It is likely that the sisters often visited each other, particularly given that in those early years of their respective marriages, their children were being born.[157] Jane had a daughter, Elizabeth, and three sons, John, the heir, Richard, and Edward, alive when her husband, Sir John Arundell died in 1511. John was born early in his parent's marriage, but other children may well have been born in the years surrounding 1503 and 1505 when Katherine Grenvile made her visit from Lanherne. Birth was a domestic event. Thus, how was a woman such as Jane Grenvile to give birth, other than with the emotional support and tangible assistance of the women in her social group? Sisters, such as the Grenvile siblings who lived in the same county, undoubtedly, were foremost among those needed at the childbirth bed. Jane Grenvile undoubtedly sought the support and comfort of her sisters when she was pregnant.[158]

Ralph Josselin recorded in the seventeenth century, although not in Cornwall, how his family maintained their close ties at a distance by constant visiting and written communications.[159] Much letter writing occurred, of course, and visiting between families at a distance in the early sixteenth century was not as onerous as may be imagined, even in the regional wilds. For Katherine Grenvile to travel to Efford was a trek across part of the county, but she had at least one sister en route, Agnes at Roscarrock, with whom she could visit overnight. As E.M. Jope pointed out, the "limitations of medieval roads and transport and the lack of wheeled vehicles in Cornwall have ... been over-emphasized (as indeed for Britain generally)."[160] Some of Jope's evidence from the Cornish estate records in 1310 of the Bishop of Exeter, for example, shows that carts and wagons were in general use since that time.

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[157] Jane Grenvile and John Arundell of Trerice were married 1493-94, their eldest son, John, was born c. 1495, and they had at least three sons and a daughter. Katherine Grenvile and John Arundell of Lanherne were married c.1503 so, presumably, Mary was born after their marriage. Byrne, 1: 405; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4, and 12.

[158] Alan Macfarlane, citing the example of Lady Anne Clifford, suggested (surely, understatedly) that the topic of pregnancies may have been discussed by a woman with her close relatives, particularly her sisters, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin: A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman* (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), 199. See also Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*; Houlbrooke, *The English Family*, 129; Sarah Heller Mendelson, "Stuart Women's Diaries and Occasional Memoirs," *Women in English Society 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985), 196; Slater, *Family Life*.

[159] In Josselin's writings the affection between parents and adult children is evident, as are similar feelings between adult siblings, Macfarlane, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin*, 106, 569, 591, 634, 639.

Excellent contemporary evidence of visiting among the gentry social group in the sixteenth-century southwest exists because Richard Carew and William Carnsew recorded it. Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* and Carnsew's "Diary" reveal that in the later sixteenth century the southwestern gentry were constantly on the road experiencing a busy exchange of life, and we have no doubt that it was the same earlier in the century.

William Carnsew was a prominent member of the southwestern gentry. His diary, covering the period January 1576 to February 1577, relates many of his activities together with those of his family and some of his peers.[161] The entries recorded his daily activities including his travels around his home counties, much of which involved visiting, dining, and residing overnight with his many gentry relatives and friends. Both the Arundells of Lanherne and Trerice were included in Carnsew's circle of visiting, as were the

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[160] E.M. Jope, "Cornish Houses, 1400-1700," *Studies in Building History* (1961): 197.

[161] N.J.G. Pounds, *William Carnsew of Bokelly and His Diary, 1576-7*, reprinted from *The Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, n.s., 8, pt. 1 (1978): 14-60. Carnsew's diary is the only apparent evidence that confirms the view of daily gentry life portrayed in Carew's *Survey of Cornwall.* Carew wrote of the Carnsew family in praiseworthy terms, and credited the diarist's youngest son, William, with correcting "many ... slippings" in his writing of his *Survey*, 127. William Carnsew's Diary is held at the Public Record Office, London and catalogued as "Diary kept by a gentleman residing in North Cornwall," SP 46/16/fo 37-52. See Appendix H page 362 for a map of Carnsew's journeys.

Arundell's cousins the Roscarrocks.[162] Hardly a week went by without Carnsew dining at Roscarrock, staying overnight, or having a Roscarrock to dine with him at his Bokelly home.[163] Often, when Carnsew visited Roscarrock, he found other family there such as "mr rycharde Graynfylde [Sir Richard Grenvile (d.1591)] & Mr Arundell trerys [Sir John Arundell of Trerice (d.1580)]."[164] When visiting at Lanherne, Carnsew," "dynd. played att boolys ther and supte," and travelled on a few miles after supper and "laye att trerys."[165] Sometimes he sent gifts to Lanherne, such as "quyncis" on October 12, 1576.[166] The record kept by Carnsew reveals that his travelling to friends and neighbours appears to have amounted to some 1,200 miles or more in a year; a considerable amount of visiting.[167] Carnsew was an active man who not only managed his farms but also worked on them when, on one occasion his exertion prompted him to record that "I swett myche."[168] In addition, he had mining interests, and involved himself in the activities of his parish church where he manoeuvred for his own clerical appointees.[169] He was interested in reading about theology, church history, issues surrounding the papacy, medicinal cures, astrology, and international and national events. To support his interests he borrowed books from his friends as he visited.[170]

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[162] Agnes Grenvile, sister of Honor and of Katherine who married Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, had married John Roscarrock. Their grandson, Thomas Roscarrock, was host to his Arundell cousins and to William Carnsew in 1576. See ancestry charts, Agnes Grenvile Appendix E page 327, and Thomas Roscarrock Appendix F page 347.

[163] Pounds, 34-35, 52, 55.

[164] Ibid., 35. The " Mr Arundell trerys" must have been Sir John Arundell of Trerice (d.1580), as his eldest son was born on November 22, 1576, Vivian, *Cornwall*, 12. Carnsew recorded on November 29, 1576 receiving news from "Twyggis me Arundellis man who tolde" him "of mrs Arrundellis delyvery on 22 of this mo."

[165] Ibid., 46.

[166] Ibid., 52. Carnsew grew the quinces, which he harvested six days before he sent some to his Arundell cousins at Lanherne. Carnsew was a grandson of Edmund (Edward) Stradling, one of whose wives was Elizabeth Arundell, a daughter of Sir Thomas Arundell (d.1485) and Catherine Dinham. See ancestry chart, William Carnsew Appendix F page 348.

[167] Ibid., 18.

[168] Ibid, 16, 34, 36, 38-39, 43, 46, 48-53, 55, 59-60.

William Carnsew was not alone in the type of visiting and travelling that filled his days. His own home at Bokelly, described by Leland as "a praty house, fair ground, and praty wood about it," was frequently visited by his peers as they travelled within the southwest and between their homes and London.[171] Frequently, his cousin "Jane spenkevall and her dawghters" came to visit, as did other relatives such as his brothers, George and John and his wife.[172] Relatives and friends such as Richard Carew also stayed overnight and dined with the Carnsews.[173] Carnsew often recorded events, travels, and discussions involving his wife, Honor Fitz, and her sisters. Honor was from a Devon family, and was the great niece of Honor Grenvile, who, perhaps, given the same 'Christian' names, was her godmother.[174]

Mrs. Carnsew's days, like her husband's, often were busy visiting and travelling while William pursued other occupations or stayed at home. He recorded one mid-winter day when his "Wyffe laye at roscarroke" and then "came home."[175] On a January day, Carnsew "rood" some five miles from Bokelly "to portysyke [Port Isaac]," on the north

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[169] Ibid., 20, 40, 48, 53 55.

[170] Ibid., 36, 46; 166; 50; 52; 20, 28, 36, 37, 56; 29; 49, 50, 54.

[171] Smith, *Leland*, 1: 178.

[172] Pounds, 31, 33, 37.

[173] Carew, *Survey*, 127; Pounds, 58.

[174] Honor Carnsew's mother, Agnes Grenvile, was a daughter of Roger Grenvile (d.1523), Honor Grenviles' brother, Vivian, *Cornwall*, 191; *Devon*, 342. See ancestry chart, Honor Fitz, Appendix F page 349.

[175] Pounds, 58.

Cornish coast, as he often did to buy fish, while his "wyffe" travelled a similar distance, but east, from home "to Stytsons [close friends of the Carnsews] to make agrem(en)t."[176] Port Isaac was a round trip from Bokelly of over ten miles on, possibly, a bone-chilling Cornish winter day. Honor no doubt attended with her husband the marriages he recorded in his diary.[177] However, she "wente a gossopynge to penvos" not with William but with their cousin "jane penkevall" and, perhaps, was a godmother at the baptism.[178] Occasionally, Honor was away from home for longer than one night, and without Carnsew.[179] After the death of her brother-in-law, William Bond, at Erthe on the county border with Devon near Plymouth, Carnsew noted that "alone my wyffe roode to Arthe." Honor went to comfort Katheryn, her bereaved sister, who had at least eight children between the ages of four and eighteen.[180] That William did not accompany Honor was not because of any in-law family strife. Honor went to her sister's on July 3, and two weeks later William arrived to assist his sister-in-law; he "laye att Arthe. talkyd wth Katheryn Bande. sawe her wyll and other matt(er)s in good order."[181] His diary entry reflects the concern of a brother-in-law for his newly widowed sister and her children.

Often when visiting at Roscarrock, Carnsew encountered Sir Richard Grenvile visiting his cousins. The occupants at Roscarrock were Thomas Roscarrock (c.1531-

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[176] Ibid., 17, 31, 54, 57.

[177] Ibid., 31

[178] Ibid., 32. Penvose is about a mile an a half from Bokelly, where Mrs. Carnsew and her friend went to attend a baptism and, as Pounds suggested, likely as godmothers.

[179] Ibid., 38, 42.

[180] Ibid.43-44. Carnsew recorded his sister-in-law, Katherine Fitz, as having five children when her husband died. However, the Herald's Visitations recorded ten children of whom eight were living at the time of their father's death, Vivian, *Devon*, 41.

[181] Pounds, 45.

1587), his wife, Jane Pentier (born c.1534), and, probably, until his death in October 1575, Thomas's father, Richard Roscarrock, son of John Roscarrock and Agnes Grenvile, a daughter of Sir Thomas of Stowe. Thus, Richard and his son, Thomas, were nephews of Honor Lisle, and her sisters, Katherine and Phillipa Arundell of Lanherne, Mary St Aubyn, and Jane Arundell of Trerice, and cousins to the Sir John Arundells of both Lanherne and Trerice, and to Sir Richard Grenvile.[182] Similarly, Carnsew's wife, Honor, had the same blood relationship with the older Grenvile sisters, as did Thomas Roscarrock, as she was also a grandchild of Sir Thomas Grenvile and Isabella Gilbert of Stowe.

A.L. Rowse suggested that the frequency with which Sir Richard Grenvile visited Roscarrock for pleasure reflected familial closeness.[183] This Grenvile and Roscarrock family closeness is significant because Grenvile was the "Protestant hero" and the Roscarrocks were closely connected with traditional religion. Nicholas Roscarrock, a younger brother of Thomas, was a noted recusant and author of "The Lives of the Saints" with whom Carnsew often corresponded.[184] Thomas' father, Richard, was intimately connected by more than blood to the Arundells of Lanherne. Some months before his death in 1575, Richard stated that his uncle, Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, had died at Roscarrock in 1545 where he had lived "yn my house" for nearly four years.[185] In 1549, it was that Richard Roscarrock who was bound over to appear before the Privy Council for some involvement in the rebellious events.[186] Sir Richard Grenvile's fervent 'Protestantism' did not deter him from his frequent visiting at Roscarrock.

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[182] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4, 12, 191, 400.

[183] Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenvile*, 127-28, 333.

[184] Pounds, 35.

[185] Richard Roscarrock of Roscarrock, Deposition, 18 March 1575, AR 21/20, CRO; Richard Roscarrock's mother, Agnes Grenvile, was a sister of Katherine who married Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1545).

The daily activities Carnsew recorded in his diary make for an exhausting read; he and his wife were busy people who interacted on a constant and diverse basis with their children, siblings, and other family members. Travelling across the county was no deterrent to visiting. Although further from the Arundells in both time and space, the writings of Ralph Josselin in the next century reflect how close family ties were well maintained even at a distance.[187] In addition, Carnsew's writings on gentry daily life are supported by Richard Carew's contemporary *Survey of Cornwall*. Carew's often-quoted statement "that all Cornish gentlemen are cousins," reflects the significant amount of intermarriage that occurred among his peers.[188] However, it must be remembered that the gentry were a relatively small social pool from which to select a marriage partner. The descriptions of the rounds of visiting that couples undertook amongst themselves, as Carnsew also described, reflects the constant contact and interaction maintained by the gentry families.[189]

The descriptions of the gentry's daily life and their interactions written by Carnsew and Carew apply to the family group that is the focus of this study. The household accounts written by Sir John Arundell (d1545) at Lanherne do not compare in either volume or information with the writings of his peers Richard Carew and William Carnsew. However, the accounts do record activities that, given the lifestyles portrayed by Carew and Carnsew, show the involvement of the Lanherne family in local daily life. Carnsew, for example, often "bawghte ffyshe," while Sir John recorded monies to purchase oranges.[190] Further, Arundell paid for Egyptian dancers and musicians, and noted payments for his "gossip" [godmother], for his wife "for her purse," and for haircuts for children.[191]

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[186] *APC*, 2: 356.

[187] Macfarlane, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin.*

[188] Halliday, 136.

[189] Carew, *Survey*, 64-65; Halliday, 55, 312; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 12.

While significant portions of Carew and Carnsew's descriptions refer to pleasant social interactions, there are references to events that were not the ordinary daily familial socializing. Rather, the other activities remind us that the business of government never stopped, and was not an activity separate from daily life. Local government was as much a part of daily activities as was farm management, buying staples or luxuries, and interacting with family, whether celebrating weddings or comforting loved ones. The family manor house was as likely a place, and probably more so, as a local inn or any other location to hold a discussion, or hear of a problem. In effect, the manor house was the centre of immediate local government on a daily basis.

William Carnsew recorded this mix of life in his Diary. On June 17 1576, he noted that he "sent mathewe [his second son] to serve a suppena to ffrauncis penkevall, but he mist hyme." The next day, however, "ffrancis pe[nkevall]: toke the subpena" so, presumably, Matthew was dispatched again. The day after, June 19, Carnsew sent "richard [his eldest son] thether to fetche me 2 heryattis [heriots]"; traditional payments by leasehold tenants.[192] As a local governor, Carnsew had no 'office.' The house in which he lived embraced all of the diversity of his daily life, whether serving subpoenas for the Crown, planning his working day making "sandryge" – a fertiliser mix to spread on his land, writing the many letters he sent to various correspondents in order to remain apprised of what was happening in the country and on the Continent, or entertaining relatives. Carnsew's cousin, Sir John Arundell of Trerice, held a meeting of local justices at his Efford home in 1554. The justices heard evidence concerning treasonous conversations between three local men, two of whom criticized the recent return to forms of traditional religion under the government of Queen Mary. Following the hearing, Arundell sent a report to the Lord Steward in London.[193]

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[190] Pounds, 35, 37, 54; AR 26/2, CRO.

[191] AR 26/2, CRO.

[192] Pounds, 42-43.

Whether it was local governance or 'high' politics, information was available for daily discussion in gentry families in person and by letter. John Arundell wrote to his wife, Katherine, presumably in confidence, of Henry VIII's plans to send his army to France. In the absence of John, Katherine was probably charged with managing affairs at Lanherne. In this respect she was like many other wives in her social group who had enormous daily responsibilities, particularly in the absence of their spouses.[194] Katherine's sister, Honor Grenvile, managed the large Basset family and their estates after the death of her first husband. In addition, she went to London from Calais to conduct affairs at Court on behalf of her second husband, Lord Lisle.[195] Other wives also dealt with government when they managed familial affairs. Devon and Cornwall, being seafaring counties, had their share of wrecks, the right to which was exercised by the Crown. Often those claims were contentious and, illustrate both the mix of activities engaged in by a household and the interplay of roles by husband and wife. Jacquetta Basset (d. 1589), wife of George Basset (born before 1529-1580), second son of Honor Grenvile, asserted the family right to wreck within the manor of Tehidy in Cornwall against a claim by Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d. 1590). The letter Mrs. Basset wrote to Arundell is undated, and Chynoweth suggested about 1570, but Jacquetta refers to her "mother in lawe," Lady Lisle, which suggests it was written before Honor's death.[196] Jacquetta and her husband, George, did not assume ownership of Tehidy until the death of his mother in 1566, but they probably lived with her at the manor.[197] Jacquetta was dealing with the situation because "Mayster Basset ys absens." She asserted that any wrecks landing within the manor "have alwayes ben thereof quyetlye possessid of long tyme" by her "mother in lawe and all other of Mayster Basset ys predycessors Lords" of the Tehidy. Since receiving Arundell's letter claiming the wreck, said Jacquetta, she had "examynyd the eldest persons dwellyng nere unto the howsse of Tehydye," and her investigation revealed that "thaye never knewe otherwysse but the Lords of Tehydye hath ben there of possessid."[198] Obviously, in George's absence, Mrs. Basset assumed

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[193] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 304-305.

[194] For significant studies of the responsibilities of women and estates see, for example, N. Davies, ed., *The Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1971-76), and Linda Pollock, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman Lady Grace Mildmay 1552-1620* (New York: St Martin's, 1993).

[195] Several Grenvile generations later, Katherine and Honor's nephew, Sir Bevil Grenvile (1595-1643) entrusted his pregnant wife, Grace Smith, with the management of their estates and financial affairs. Bevil was away from Stowe fighting in the King's army, and he and Grace exchanged letters that reflect deep and loving devotion. Addressing his letters to "my best Frend ... My dearest," he desired his wife "not to be so

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passionat" about his absence, for he vowed she could not more desire to have him at home than he desired to be there. The letters written by this Grenvile couple are very similar in deeply affectionate tone to those written generations earlier by their aunt and uncle, Lord and Lady Lisle. Granville, 146 and 149; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 191-92.

[196] Chynoweth, 100.

[197] Honor's burial was recorded in the Illogan parish registers on 30 April 1566. Byrne, 1: 412, 6: 258. The parish of Illogan was within the Tehidy lordship, the main landholding in Cornwall of the Bassets who held since at least the early fourteenth century. Polsue, 2: 218.

responsibility for collecting the evidence to countermand Arundell's claim. In 1575, Margaret Edgcumbe (d. 1583?) was also involved in a controversy over right to wreck that she had claimed during her husband's absence. That case went further than the local gentry, and was dealt with by the Privy Council. A storm in the Channel had caused Spanish shipping to be wrecked on the shore abutting Mount Edgcumbe. The "grete spoiles" of "goodes and merchandizes" had come into the hands of "Mistres Edgecombe and others."[199] On October 16 the Council instructed the Vice Admiral in the West, Sir Arthur Champernowne, "to sequestre the said goodes into safe custodie." Two weeks later the Council complained to Piers Edgcumbe (d. 1607) that his wife refused to hand over the Spanish goods. Once he returned home, Piers supported his wife's actions. Consequently, the Council ordered him "not onlye to make deliverie of the said goodes, but also to make his personall apparaunce befor their Lordships with as convenient spede as he may to answer to the contempt."[200]

Daily life was incredibly diverse. Whether people who were related by blood or marriage lived on the same manor, a few miles down the road, in the next county, or across the Channel, all were touched by familial and government events and actions because they were so closely interconnected and in constant contact. Gentry neighbours in the sixteenth century, invariably, could be counted as relatives by blood or marriage. To view those families as always in accord would be unrealistic. Sometimes, it is questionable whether some of those disagreements were based in reality or in the presumptions of historians. Economic jealousy as well as religious differences played

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[198] Pool, 174.

[199] *APC*, 9: 27-28.

significant roles in Rowse's view of the division of the southwest gentry families by 1549. The Edgcumbes and their distant cousins the Grenviles were so jealous of the wealth of the Catholic Arundells and Tregians, wrote Rowse, that their envy lived over generations and awaited an opportunity to cause the downfall of the two Catholic families.[201] Curiously, the Edgcumbes were among the wealthiest families in the southwest in the first half of the sixteenth century, and Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1560x61) married into both the Lanherne and the Tregian family. The Grenvile envy, Rowse claimed, was founded in the 1530s when Sir Richard Grenvile wanted to marry his daughter to John Tregian, but instead the Tregian heir married Katherine Arundell of Lanherne.[202] The enmity as a result of Grenvile's loss of a wealthy Tregian son-in-law is made much of by Rowse and Speight. Yet, the evidence to support their view of Grenvile's invective is light indeed and circumstantial at best.

In 1537, Sir Richard Grenvile's daughter Margaret married Richard Lee, a protégé of Cromwell's. Grenvile was opposed to the match, not only because of Lee's humble origins, but also because - had Margaret married the Tregian heir - her jointure would have helped solve his financial problems. "I might often have married this maiden to Tregian his son and heir" and the money from her jointure, he wrote to Cromwell who supported Lee's suit.[203] Margaret's aunt and uncle, Lord and Lady Lisle, also supported the young couple who, it seems, may have eloped. Grenvile was soon reconciled to the

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[200] Ibid., 9:42.

[201] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 345.

[202] Ibid., 345.

[203] Byrne, 4: 386.

marriage, with some urging from Cromwell.[204] Byrne, who related at some length the events surrounding Margaret's marriage, made no comment regarding Grenvile's rancour at losing the Tregian wealth to the Arundells of Lanherne. Rowse, however, viewed that hatred as the prime motivation in an ongoing Grenvile-Arundell feud.[205] Essentially, what Rowse wrote reflected a Sir Richard Grenvile with a grasping pecuniary mentality and a hatred of Catholics. The evidence challenges Rowse's viewpoint.

In 1537, Grenvile, like many of his peers and not least his aunt and uncle, the Lisles, was experiencing financial difficulties. When he wrote to Cromwell in 1537, he pointed out the costs he had incurred over the past several years. There had been three family marriages, he had spent five years attending Parliament, and paid off his father's debts and bequests. In addition, his position as Marshal at Calais was expensive. As a result, Grenvile had costs of over two thousand marks.[206] Clearly, his income did not match his expenses, so marriage alliances for his children that brought substantial jointure would be welcome and even necessary. Family affairs for the gentry had to be well managed if the family was to survive and be enhanced socially and economically, as in earlier and later times. Grenvile was not acting in a manner different to his peers. Any rancour Sir Richard had toward his daughter and her new husband was short-lived. He wrote to Cromwell that when Lee brought Margaret to his house, "I shall receive her and am well contented she shall be married out of the same. And at a convenient time, as I may somewhat with mine ease, I will give him a hundred marks sterling."[207] How much Grenvile's attitude was the result of Cromwell's coercion is impossible to say. If, as Rowse claimed, Grenvile was devoted to religious change, then Cromwell's influence over him would have been significant, but Grenvile's religious identity is challenged in this work. Further, if he was the mercenary man portrayed by Rowse, one wonders if he would not have found some way to avoid providing for the marriages of his aunt, sister, and daughter, particularly if he was angry with Margaret for not garnering a rich husband. Reconciliation between Sir Richard and Margaret was permanent, as reflected in a legacy for Margaret and her husband from her father after his death.[208]

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[204] Ibid., 4: 386.

[205] Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, 33-34.

[206] The marriages were those of Grenvile's aunt, his sister, and his eldest daughter. As head of the Grenvile family, Sir Richard was responsible for providing for his unmarried female relatives. The Parliament he attended was the one elected in 1529. His father was Roger Grenvile who died in 1523. Byrne, 4: 386; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 191.

Families then, as in modern times, experienced disagreements, jealousies, and myriad other problems and as David Cressy remarked, family life is not easily measurable.[209] What their relationships were worth was embedded in their shared daily family life resulting from blood, marriage, geographical propinquity, and an inherited culture. When the family connections are ignored their worth is missed. A significant example of that omission was made by W.K. Jordan. When discussing the importance of the Earl of Arundel in the political machinations at Court to gain control of both the young King Edward VI and the government, Jordan commented that the Earl was "of no relation" to Sir Thomas and Sir John Arundell, the Lanherne brothers.[210] On the contrary, however, for the men were brothers-in-law because Mary Arundell was wife of the Earl and half-sister to John and Thomas. This chapter explores family connections and their worth, and from the mundane everyday experiences constructs a picture of the daily lives of real people. What emerges is a picture of a closely intertwined family group, who shared life's experiences on a daily basis, in which affectionate relationships abounded and in which women and men participated in all the diversity that comprised life. Sisters ensured they supported each other by visiting, nieces provided affection and pragmatic assistance to young cousins at Court, spouses poured out in their letters their love for each other and their anguish at being parted, husbands tried to spare wives the worry of children's actions, and brothers arranged marriages for sisters. All the while, women and men managed estates, made journeys to Court and to the Continent, dispensed local justice, and England was protected from invasion. In the crisis of 1549, "when it came to the crunch," the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles had a web of interconnectedness that bound them together and made it difficult, if not impossible, for the gentry group to react in either their accustomed roles or in rebellion.

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[207] Byrne, 4: 386.

[208] Grenfeld, Richard knt., Devon, IPM, WSL.

[209] Cressy, "Kinship and Kin," 42, 49.

[210] W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: the young King* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1968), 1: 28.

CHAPTER 4

A Shared and Inherited Culture: "faith might bind ... as nothing else could"[1]

Part of the web of interconnectedness that entwined the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles was their shared and inherited culture, significantly, traditional religion. We have to try to understand how inherent religious beliefs and practices were in daily life in order to appreciate the continuity of that shared culture because change did not occur overnight. As Norman Jones pointed out, if "we are to understand how Protestantism changed England we have to ask how individuals, families, and institutions negotiated the changes."[2] The rebellion in the southwest cannot be reduced either to politics or to religious doctrine. Neither can it be understood in terms of the deep division portrayed by A.L. Rowse, what he called "the past fighting the future." Specifically, for Rowse, the "Catholic" Arundells of Lanherne and their close relatives the Tregians versus the "Protestant" Grenviles, the Carews, and other prominent gentry families.[3] To show the complexity of the picture rather than clear delineation we must now include and explore the shared and inherited culture, the place of traditional religion in the web of family interconnectedness and everyday lives of the southwest family group. Only then can we begin to understand its significance on a daily basis and in a time of crisis. If the small community of Morebath in Devon could avoid catastrophic disunity by accommodating change in the sixteenth century, then so could this southwest family group.[4] Respectively, a web of family ties, geography, and a shared and inherited traditional religion inextricably linked both. By examining the everyday lives of the family group we can see that distinct labels of religious beliefs and practices are not realistic. The picture was far more complex. We can show that religion was woven inextricably into daily life, thereby adding to our understanding of the interconnectedness of the family group. Their indissoluble connections survived the vagaries of time, gender, and generational differences, although family interests were never monolithic. This picture of the southwest gentry suggests a significantly different interpretation of religious change in the southwest. The previous chapter established the importance of the ties of blood, marriage, and geography. By now adding the importance of a shared culture we can also begin to understand the rebellion in different terms.

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[1] Susan Brigden, "Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth-Century London," *Past & Present* 103 (May 1984): 71.

[2] Jones, "Negotiating the Reformation," 274.

Historians have often seen the two far southwestern English counties of Devon and Cornwall, particularly the latter, as religiously conservative, inherently different (not English and, definitely, anti-English in the case of Cornwall), and naturally rebellious when compared with most other counties in Tudor England.[5] The region has been seen as wild, remote, and troublesome to the Crown. The perspective of a respected Cornish academic, A.L. Rowse, and his work where his home county was concerned did much to establish the picture of historical separateness of the region for modern historians, and for

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[3] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 267.

[4] Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath*.

[5] Rowse firmly established this view throughout *Tudor Cornwall*. Those ideas of Rowse and other historians were not new in the twentieth century, in the sixteenth century John Norden and Richard Carew commented on similar thoughts, Norden, 28; Carew, *Survey*, 67. See also, M.L. Robertson, "'The Art of the Possible:' Thomas Cromwell's Management of West Country Government," *Historical Journal* 32 (1989): 793-816.

some that viewpoint endures to the present.[6] Nonetheless, that picture of the southwest has valid opposition. In Robert Whiting's examination of religious change in the Diocese of Exeter, Devon, and Cornwall, in the sixteenth century, he made little distinction between that area and the rest of England in his conclusions.[7] In fact, Whiting extrapolated from his findings in the southwest to make them somewhat representative of the country. Further, in a recent work, J.P.D. Cooper (perhaps as Cornish as Rowse?) repudiated the idea of separateness. Rather than constructing "a cultural dividing line between the English and the Cornish running along the river Tamar," he recognized that "the cultural history of the Tudor south-west is too complex." Cooper argued persuasively that the people of Devon and Cornwall were "eager to prove their devotion to the Crown," and that "a mutually beneficial relationship existed between the Tudor Crown" and the two southwestern counties. Further, concerning the southwest rebellion, he stated that the "absence of prominent gentlemen from the rebel ranks in 1549" reflected the general contentment with Tudor rule of the gentry of Devon and Cornwall.[8] Contentment or discontent with Tudor rule was not the clear issue for the gentry in the crisis of 1549, however. Rather, a significant antipathy of local gentry to the government of the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Protector, though not against the Crown in the person of the young Edward VI, combined with profound family interconnectedness to prevent them from participating either with the rebels or against them. The Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles were woven into a social fabric destined to be torn asunder had they fulfilled their usual roles as local governors to contain the early disturbances in Devon and Cornwall or openly supported the rebels. The presence of two of their members as leaders of the Devon and Cornwall rebels, Thomas Pomeroy and Humphrey Arundell, respectively, and of Peter Carew and his uncle, Gawen Carew, on the side of the government does not detract from this argument. Anomalies exist in every time and place, including within family groups.

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[6] See, for example, Payton, 4-13; Stoyle, "Cornish Rebellions," 22-28; S.G. Ellis, "Crown, Community and Government in the English Territories, 1450-1575," *History* 71 (1986): 187-204.

[7] Whiting, *Blind Devotion,* 262-68.

[8] Cooper, "Propaganda, allegiance and sedition," [n.p.] 143, 169, 173, 176.

The entanglement of loyalty to the Crown and religious beliefs was not the issue in 1549 as it would be after the Papal Bull of 1570 excommunicating Queen Elizabeth. However, those beliefs were part of the shared and inherited culture that bound together the gentry family group in the southwest. If the families, before 1549, carefully negotiated and accommodated two decades of religious change to avoid catastrophic disunity within their group, then the rebellion was a significant moment for the families to reveal their interconnectedness and unity. In 1549, the centre of government at Westminster was in crisis. The strength of the Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, and Grenvile familial bonds allowed the Tudor dynasty to be shaken. In this way, the complex experiences of living in families are relevant to large social structures and processes, in this case the ubiquitous but elusive "English Reformation."[9]

The publication in 1964 of *The English Reformation*, a seminal work by A.G. Dickens, established the idea that a corrupt and moribund church was quickly superseded by welcome religious change.[10] In contrast in the following decades, revisionists such as Christopher Haigh, J.J. Scarisbrick, and Eamon Duffy revealed a vibrant traditional religion, one that for some of them succumbed very slowly and never completely to the changes forced upon traditional life.[11] Another historian, Christine Carpenter, without ideological motivation she said, watched the competing schools of thought from the sidelines.[12] That watching, or lack of engagement with issues of religion, might be construed as a failure of the modern imagination or, as in the case of G.R. Elton, one of preferring politics over religious commitment as the 'cause' of religious change. In addition, Elton supported Dicken's idea of significant anti-clericalism in England by the early sixteenth century, an idea repudiated by the revisionists.[13] Haigh challenged the very use of the term "the English Reformation," while Duffy, in particular, attempted to put religious beliefs and practices back into "the English Reformation."[14]

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[9] Charles Tilly, "Family History, Social History, and Social Change," 325. The practical application of the idea is seen in highly diverse ways, for example, in Durston, *The Family in the English Revolution*; Herlihy, "The Family and Religious Ideologies in Medieval Europe," 3-17; and Prestwich, 799-818. Durston argued that the institution of the family might have helped to destroy the English Revolution. Herlihy cited both family interests and religious commitments as the motives that most "powerfully affected the behaviour of medieval people," both of which affected the medieval church and vice-versa. In a different time, Prestwich provided a convincing picture of the development of institutional policies in France resulting from the needs of families.

While not without its critics, the revisionist view of religious change has prevailed as later historians such as those led by Eric Carlson sought to understand how variously defined communities around England negotiated, adapted to and accommodated that change to avoid catastrophic disunity.[15] This theme of accommodation of change is strong in Eamon Duffy's broad examination of parish community life around sixteenth-century England, and highly focused in his newest work *The Voices of Morebath*.[16] Although Duffy examined how one particular parish community in Devon conformed and conformed again to religious changes instituted through four successive reigns, his focus on community has wider implications, significantly, on the nature of community in the sixteenth century.

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[10] Dickens, *English Reformation.*

[11] Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised,* (Cambridge: UP, 1987) and *English Reformations*; Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*. In this work the use of the term revisionist is not used to provide blanket coverage of a highly complex subject. Rather, the word is used to highlight the different opinions and arguments that have emerged in the past four decades that have stimulated rethinking of conceptual categories, re-evaluation of evidence, and search for new evidence.

[12] Christine Carpenter, "The Religion of the Gentry of Fifteenth-Century England," *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*," ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), 55. Carpenter, like Patrick Collinson, discussed the major historiographical problem that still constitutes the topic of "the English Reformation," "England," *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1994), 81-94. Andrew D. Brown writing about religious change in England did not, for example, adopt a confessional stance, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury 1250-1550* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

[13] Elton, "The Reformation in England," 2: 226-28. Another advocate of significant anticlericalism was R.H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (1952; Boston: Beacon, 1985), 185, 188-98.

[14] Haigh, *English Reformations*, particularly, 12-21; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars.*

By examining how the parish community of Morebath accommodated religious change, Duffy revealed the intricate social fabric resulting from familial ties, geographical propinquity, and a shared and inherited culture. Those ties, both fractious and otherwise, bound them together over centuries. In the sixteenth century, few people trod the paths of principle at the cost of the "dear and familiar."[17] That very issue of cost to a community is easily transferable to the community of the southwest gentry family group who are the focus of this work. How many of the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles were willing to sacrifice what to them was dear and familiar for a principle of religious belief or for support of a Protector government whose policies were contentious?

When A.L. Rowse published *Tudor Cornwall* in 1942, he provided a seminal picture of sixteenth-century Cornish and English society. Although that picture still has considerable relevance today, Rowse's portrayal of prominent southwest gentry as deeply divided is problematic. In his account, this "deep division" was between those people who were "Catholic" and those who were "Protestant," what he called "the past fighting the future."[18] That division underlies the work of some historians who considered the events of 1549 in the southwest in the half-century following *Tudor Cornwall*, and even among those who did not. If anything defines for scholars the Arundells of Lanherne and of Trerice in the sixteenth century, it is religion. Muriel St Clare Byrne wrote that the "Arundells of Lanherne remained strictly Catholic, unlike the Trerice branch of the family, into which Jane Grenvile made her first marriage, who were Reformation in their sympathies."[19] B. Dudley Stamp was puzzled as to "why the two branches of the family ... should have taken such different lines over religion." The "Lanherne Arundells remained staunchly Catholic" while the "Trerice Arundells ... steered a more sedate course. They accepted the new religion under the Tudors."[20] F.E. Halliday defined the Trerice Arundells as "supporters of the new dispensation," and the family at Lanherne "as the nucleus of Catholic recusancy in the county."[21] W.H. Tregellas wrote of the Lanherne Arundells as "Roman Catholic" and "the other … Trerice … branch" as "protestant" in the years leading to the 1549 rebellion.[22] A complete chapter in Rowse's *Tudor Cornwall* delineates "The Cornish Catholics," and in another work he wrote that

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[15] Carlson, *Religion and the English People.*

[16] Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath.*

[17] Duffy. *The Voices of Morebath*, 176. John Chynoweth made a comparable comment when he stated that few "gentry were prepared to loose their lives for the sake of religious principles" rather, most of them preferred "the peaceful enjoyment of their lands and offices," 174.

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[18] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 267.

[19] Byrne, 1:307.

[20] B. Dudley Stamp, "The Cornish Arundells," *Old Cornwall* 7, no. 8 (September 1971): 355.

[21] Halliday, 19.

[22] "Arundell, Sir Thomas (d.1552)," *DNB*.

> the richest and most powerful family, the Arundells of Lanherne, had not accepted the new Establishment and continued in their old ways, devout Catholics ... there was not the same friendly equality as among the Grenviles, the Edgcumbes, the Arundells of Trerice.[23]

Rowse considered the Lanherne family, by the second half of the century, to have been "a closed circle, Catholic, devout."[24] He argued that "Catholicism" survived "by unity, and once that unity had been broken" nothing could possibly repair the break.[25] His perspective has skewed our understanding of the role of religious beliefs and practices within the family group and fed the idea of their religious polarization by 1549. Considerable changes have taken place in our understanding of religious change in the sixteenth century, however. As Duffy commented, "sharp distinctions between Catholic and Protestant, traditionalist and reformed, may look more straightforward and clear-cut to the historian than they did" to contemporaries.[26]

Religion shaped their culture for over a millennium, made those families interconnected, and made families matter, particularly, at a time of crisis. Rather than dividing them in the decades before the southwest rebellion in 1549, their shared and inherited culture bound them, perhaps, as nothing else could. Religious beliefs and practices were as much a part of daily life, consciously and unconsciously, as cells are part of the human body; there was no 'other.' Family relationships can be understood only when we include and try to see the place of religion in the web of family interconnectedness. This approach brings to the study of the southwest gentry families, to religious change, and to the crisis of 1549 a broader and more nuanced picture of ways in which religion worked in those prominent families. Reducing the southwest rebellion either to politics or to religious doctrine does not work. Although John Hooker claimed that the 1549 rebellion was only about religion, the rebels had complex motivations.[27] Ultimately, however, their shared and inherited culture, of which religious beliefs and practices were a significant part, bound them together and cost many of them their lives.[28]

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[23] Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville,* 131.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall,* 305.

An important mental shift needs to be made when trying to understand what religion meant to people in sixteenth-century England. Rather than applying and attempting to understand terms such as 'faith' and 'piety,' it is more helpful to explore how people lived their lives.[29] Most people in England were more interested in their daily lives than in the finer points of theology. Consciously and unconsciously, they lived within a cultural structure that applied countrywide but with myriad local variations and applications in daily life. For England, historians have used the parish unit to explore how religion was practiced with all its regional variations.[30] That parish practice, nonetheless, was always variation on a theme – the liturgical year. Unless we understand, as Duffy showed, what that framework meant in daily application, we cannot possibly understand how people in England lived their lives. Commitment meant not only regular or

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[26] Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath*, 177.

[27] Hooker, *Citie of Excester,* 56. As Youings pointed out, it was "unlikely" that there was single cause motivating the rebels, "South-Western Rebellion," 102.

See chapter 1 of this dissertation for a description of the severe unrest that gripped various regions of England in 1549.

[28] Whiting, while recognizing that the rebels had various motivations, commented that "religious conservatism" was the most important "stimulus," *Blind Devotion,* 34-35.

[29] For many modern people, understanding faith and piety is difficult, if not impossible. How much more impossible it is, even for historians, to understand what faith and piety meant to people in the sixteenth century.

[30] See, for example, Haigh, *English Reformations*, and Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars* and *Voices of Morebath*.

spasmodic appearances in the parish church but also a broad spectrum of daily or periodic activities: the observation of festivals and fasts, veneration of images and relics, invocation of saints, execution of the spiritual and temporal testaments of dead relatives and peers, guidance of godchildren, monogamy in marriage, charity to neighbours, loyalty to family and friends, living in social harmony, and all the other aspects of daily living. Church attendance was not just to hear mass; festivals were not just to venerate saints. Each parish was a community in which social occasions ranged from observing the opposite sex in church to dances and games.[31] To dismiss or misunderstand the role of religion in sixteenth-century English daily life is to remove the framework within which that life was lived.

No deep divide existed between the religion of the more privileged in society, both clerical and lay, and the majority of the population. As Duffy pointed out, remarkable homogeneity existed "across the social spectrum" within "the diversity of medieval religious options."[32] Religion was as much a part of the life of the gentry as it was of the ordinary people. Thus, the polarization of the southwest gentry family group by 1549 as depicted by some historians must be understood within the context of the religious connections of daily life.

The Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles were intricately tied by links of blood and marriage. Highly significant in that web of interconnectedness were the marriages made by the Grenvile sisters, the daughters of Lady Isabel Gilbert and her husband Sir Thomas Grenvile. In addition, the Grenviles and the Arundells of Lanherne shared a lineage beyond the marriage of Sir John of Lanherne and Katherine Grenvile. So close were they over generations that their blood connection contravened consanguinity laws of the church; thus, a papal dispensation for their marriage was required in 1503 from Julius II.[33]

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[31] In *The Stripping of the Altars* Eamon Duffy used the liturgical year as the framework to explore the "meaning and purpose" medieval people found to their lives. The first half of his work is an extensive examination of the structure of traditional religion and its application in everyday parish life in England, 9-378.

[32] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* 3.

While it is impossible to know either the nature of their religious beliefs or the level of their commitment to religion of many of the family group, John Arundell and Katherine Grenvile maintained active connections with the English Church and, sometimes, directly with Rome. These activities might suggest that they were unusually pious, which supports the traditional picture of the extreme religious conservatism of the Arundells of Lanherne. However, when the activities undertaken by Katherine and John are understood in the context of the activities of their peers, it is clear that the Arundells were not unique in contemporary English society. This view questions further the idea of both religious difference and polarization of the southwest family group in 1549.

For over three decades, 1503 to 1534, John and Katherine, either together or alone received papal indulgences, absolutions, and numerous grants for permission to have portable altars. Recipients of similar grants in England covered a broad spectrum of people who could afford to petition for them. For example, records in the late fifteenth century show that everyone from the monarch to relatively obscure men and women received grants for portable altars.[34] Some of the grants to the Arundells were the result of a specific activity they had already undertaken. Between 1516 and 1518, the church granted plenary indulgences to John Arundell, his wife Katherine, and their children in return for their generous contributions "towards the fabric of St Peter's, Rome."[35]

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[33] AR/27/4, CRO; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 3-4, 190-91; Granville, 56. The only traceable common ancestor for John and Katherine is Margaret Burgersh, John's great grandmother and Katherine's great great aunt by marriage - not a blood relative for Katherine.

[34] John A.F. Thomson, "'The Well of Grace': Englishmen and Rome in the Fifteenth Century," *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Barrie Dobson (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1984), 109.

Sir John's elevated standing in the eyes of the Church and his monarch was such that in 1525 he was chosen for a papal honour. Clement VII, through his papal nuncio in London, Melchior Langus the Archdeacon of Novara, appointed Henry VIII to nominate twelve other persons in the kingdom to share with the King in the honour. By visiting his parish churches or performing acts according to his conscience and by following the advice of his confessor, Sir John, with his nominated peers and the King, received all the indulgences and full grace conferred upon people making a pilgrimage to Rome that year.[36] The papacy's motivation for the recognition of Sir John is unknown. No doubt, his devotion to the church was a factor, but to be in company with the King is particularly noteworthy. Further, surely the papal act was not devoid of political motivation. Arundell was an important person in the Kingdom. He was the "great" Arundell, and he and his family were close to the Crown and among the most prominent in England. They were Cornwall's resident noble family without the title, an honour declined by Sir John only two years earlier. The papacy and Henry VIII each had a significant stake in promoting peace within their respective communities. The document was signed during the years in which Cardinal Wolsey, the second most important man in England, tried through diplomacy to establish a cohesive peace plan with European rulers.[37] Thus, honouring regional leaders spiritually and temporally was politically astute for both Pope and King.

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[35] John Angelus Arcimboldus, to John Arundell, his wife and children, Plenary indulgence, 16 January 1517, AR 27/7; Brother Edmund, to Sir John Arundell and Lady Katherine, Grant, 12 January [1517?], 27/8, CRO.

[36] King Henry VIII, to Sir John Arundell, Plenary indulgence, 10 November 1525, AR 27/11, CRO.

Local parish churches were the fortunate recipients of both Arundell endowments and papal indulgences. The indulgences were a benefit the churches received as a result of the family's religious devotion. In 1528, the parish church of St Colomb Major, not far from Lanherne, received substantial papal grants, making it unique among churches in the southwest.[38] Also, in 1512 and 1513, letters patent from the King granted Sir John licences to found and endow a perpetual chantry within the churches of St Magnus in Pyder and St Mawgan in Pyder.[39]

Other documents reflect additional forms of Arundell devotion. One is a petition to Rome from a group of people, and first on the list of names are "John Arundell knight and Elizabeth his wife."[40] The signatories ask for portable altars, dispensations at Lent, and plenary indulgences as well as the right to choose their own "confessor ydoneus secularis vel cuius ... ordinis." Such a document reflects the relative 'ordinariness' of the application to the papacy. John Arundell and his wife, on this occasion, were not singular in their petitioning, rather they joined with their county peers in a communal activity. The document is undated. Nicholas Orme suggested it was written about 1500, while O.J. Padel suggested c.1540-1550.[41] Either date is possible. The two sets of dates reflect either, Sir John Arundell (d.1545) and his first wife Eleanor or, sometimes cited as, Eleanor Grey, or their eldest son, John Arundell (d.1557), and daughter-in-law Elizabeth Danet. In the context of religious change, the document is more significant if the later dating, specifically, 1547 to 1550, is correct given some of the other signatories such as "William Seyntmaur [either St Maur or Seymour] and Margaret [Edgcumbe] his wife."[42] The "Seyntmaurs" were a Devon family whose members included siblings who significantly affected the religious history of England. Jane Seymour, third wife of Henry VIII and mother of Edward VI, was the sister of Edward, Duke of Somerset, and Lord Protector of his nephew, the young King.[43] Margaret Edgcumbe was a sister of Sir Piers Edgcumbe (c.1459-1539). The Edgcumbes were a significant family both regionally and nationally, and Margaret was an aunt of Mary Edgcumbe and her brother Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1561/62), who, respectively, married the Lanherne heir, John Arundell (d1557), and his sister, Elizabeth (died between 1516 and the early to mid 1520s).[44] Margaret's second husband was Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, and they were the parents of Sir Peter Courtenay, Sheriff of Devon during the 1549 rebellion. Margaret's

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[37] For a description of Wolsey's diplomatic manoeuvrings see Guy, 87.

[38] Pope Clement VII, to John Arundell, Papal bull, 22 April 1528, AR 27/14, CRO.

[39] King Henry VIII to John Arundell de Lanheron, knight, Letters patent, Westminster, 18 December 1512, AR 16/15; John Arundell of Lanherne, Foundation and endowment, 1 March 1513, AR 16/16, CRO.

[40] John Arundell knight and Elizabeth his wife and others [20 people?], Petition to the Pope, n.d. AR 27/16, CRO.

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[41] Nicholas Orme, "Indulgences in Medieval Cornwall," *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall*, n.s. 2, vol. 1, pt. 2 (1992): 153; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4; 6, 141. Dating the document based on the name of a Sir John Arundell and his wife Elizabeth is difficult. The first wife of Sir John who died in 1545 was Eleanor Grey, sometimes called Elizabeth, and their eldest son, Sir John (d.1557) married Elizabeth Danet. When other people named in the document are compared with the pedigrees in the Herald's visitations, again, either dating is possible.

[42] "John [?] Arundell de Talfern [Tolverne] and Alice his wife," presumably Alice Penpons of Treswithen. Vivian, *Cornwall*, 3 and 6.

[43] Vivian, *Devon*, 702.

[44] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4, and 142. In the Arundell pedigree, Vivian recorded that Catherine Edgcumbe married John Arundell. In the Edgcumbe pedigree, however, he cited Mary Edgcumbe as Arundell's first wife. The marriage between John Arundell and Mary Edgcumbe was confirmed by a document in the possession of William Henry, fourth Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, in the late nineteenth century, *Records of the Edgcumbe Family*, 81.

Courtenay marriage also allied her with Honor Grenvile, as Honor's stepdaughter, Ann Basset, married Sir James Courtenay, a brother of Sir William.[45]

If the document was written in the earlier period then it reflects activities usual for people active in their church. If later, then, in the context of religious change, the document has more significance. The Act of Dispensations in 1534 forbade all applications to the papacy for dispensations and licences.[46] If the legislation was ignored then so was the Act of Supremacy. With the later dating, such a petition to Rome questions the efficacy of reform legislation, and queries whether the signatories were unusual in their actions at the time. If the petition was written after the passing of the Act of Six Articles in 1539, some people may have felt motivated and safe to resume traditional activities with respect to their church and Rome or they had long ignored government legislation.[47] Regardless of the dating of the petition to Rome, the Lanherne family was not unique regarding activities associated with their religion. In the example of the petition, they were two of twenty of their family and peers who pursued permission to engage in activities requiring dispensation from the Church authorities.

Further evidence, however, reflects a different level of religious commitment on the part of Katherine Grenvile and her husband, John Arundell. Documents dated between 1515 and 1533 were written by priors of both the Augustinian or Carthusian orders in religious institutions in the dioceses of Exeter and of Bath and Wells, and by the provincial vicar of the Friars Minor in Ireland. Two of these letters of confraternity or brotherhood concern John Arundell, one Katherine, and the other two both husband and wife and their children. Conferred on the various Arundells were all the spiritual benefits of the religious orders in life and death.[48] Letters of confraternity or of brotherhood represented an association between individuals and a specific religious house and, usually, the individuals received spiritual benefits in return for financial donations, which was probably the situation with the Arundells.[49] Obviously, the family was wealthy enough to exercise publicly a level of devotion denied to others. However, the connection with the Carthusian order points to a level of religious sensibility and concern held by few people, as most were not attracted to the severe asceticism nor could match the erudition of the Carthusians. The uniqueness of the relationship between the Arundells and religious orders is not easily determined when compared with their contemporaries. Unfortunately, the topic of confraternities in England is little studied relative to those on the Continent, so there is insufficient evidence with which to compare the Arundell's activities.[50] Within the Arundell family there is evidence of only one other person

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[45] Vivian, *Devon*, 246.

[46] Guy, 324, 385.

[47] Either way, the petition reveals that the government may not have held the level of popular religious allegiance that it wished.

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[48] Brother Philip Omargiriyn, Friars Minor, to John [Arundell], 1515, AR 27/6; Brother John, to Sir John Arundell, 12 [March?] 1525, AR 27/9; Brother John, to Lady Katherine Arundell, 25 August 1525, AR 27/10, Thomas, Prior, to Sir John Arundell, 11 February 1527, AR 27/12, Brother Edmund, Prior of Henton, to John Arundell, [1533-34], AR 27/15, CRO.

[49] I am grateful to Dr Nicholas Terpstra for discussing with me letters of confraternity.

[50] Research in England tends to focus on urban guilds, although V.R. Bainbridge explored rural organizations in one county, *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Change in Cambridgeshire c.1350-1558* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996). Parish guilds are of interest to some historians, following the seminal work of H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Medieval England* (1919). For example, Robert Whiting and Joanna Mattingly have published studies on parish guilds and intercessionary institutions in the southwest of England, Robert Whiting, "'For the Health of my Soul': Prayers for the Dead in the Tudor South-West," *Southern History* 5 (1983): 68-94; Joanna Mattingly, "The Medieval Parish Guilds of Cornwall," *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, n.s. 10 (1989): 290-329.

Italy, in particular, is an attractive field of research for historians, but even there the concentration is on lay societies rather than on individual grants by religious orders to families. In 1994, Giovanna Casagrande commented that "letters of brotherhood" were a neglected source in the study of confraternities, although her work still refers to lay group organizations. For example, she notes the expansion of confraternities in Padua between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when family groups were included. That inclusion, however, is still in the context of larger lay organized associations. Giovanna Casagrande, involved in a similar confraternal relationship. That person was Sir John Arundell's (d.1545) grandfather, John Arundell (born c.1418), who, in 1450, had a confraternal relationship with the Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu in the Diocese of Winchester.[51]

Of other families in the southwest, at least two other disparate pieces of evidence concerning confraternal relationships exist. In 1468, the Vicar General of the Trinitarians admitted "Robert Yonge, Chaplain, and Ralph and his wife Anastasia into the brotherhood" and granted to them full participation in the spiritual benefits of the order.[52] In 1524, Sir John Kirkham, a knight of Devon, received letters of confraternity for himself and his family from Francis de Angelis, the Minister-General of the Order of the Grey Friars, recognizing the Kirkham's devotion to the Order.[53] The Kirkham relationship with a religious order is interesting because it was contemporary with similar activities by the Arundells of Lanherne, and the Kirkhams were connected to local families who are usually labelled 'Protestant' by some historians. For example, Sir John Kirkham's heir, Thomas, married Thomasine or Cecily Carew, the only sister of the Sir Peter Carew whom John Hooker lauded as the saviour of religious change when threatened by rebellion in 1549.[54] In addition, Sir John Kirkham's sister, Margaret, married a "Grenvile

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"Women in Confraternities between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age. Research in Umbria," *Confraternities* 5, no.2 (Fall, 1994): 6, and 13.

[51] Richard Feckenham, Abbot of Beaulieu, to John Arundell esquire, 6 August 1450, AR 27/3, CRO; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 3/

[52] J.H. Wylie and J. Wylie, eds., *Report on the Records of the City of Exeter* (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1916), 287.

[53] A.G. Little and R.C. Easterling, *The Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter*, History of Exeter Research Group, no. 3 (Exeter: A. Wheaton, 1927), 30.

[54] Vivian, *Devon*, 135, 516; John Prince, *Danmoii Orientales Illustres: or, the Worthies of Devon* (1701; London, 1810), 554-55.

of Stowe."[55] The Grenviles, like the Carews, are usually seen generically as an example par excellence of early and avid supporters of religious change from the 1530s.

While it is difficult to assess the prevalence and quality of association between gentry families in England and religious orders, the Arundells of Lanherne, like their Devonian peers, the Kirkhams, presumably were fulfilling a spiritual need. That devotion, however, while unusually pious, may not have been unique. As Orme noted regarding John Arundell's predilection for collecting indulgences, the Lanherne documents survived only because of the continued adherence of the family to traditional religion.[56] Other families may well have engaged in activities similar to the Arundells but circumstances and, probably, their prudence resulted in the destruction of the evidence.

Further, it is worth considering a wider context concerning people associated with religious orders and, in particular, with the Carthusians. The association suggests, perhaps, an active concern about the state of the Church in England and engagement with unusual levels of religious asceticism and erudition. Marriage also linked the Arundells of Lanherne to a highly prominent family devoted to traditional religion and erudition by 1545. Mary Arundell, the only child of Katherine Grenvile and Sir John Arundell, was the second wife of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (c.1512-1580), one of the most powerful nobles in England.[57] The Earl not only collected an impressive library, but he also ensured that his two daughters, Mary (c.1541-1557) and Jane (d.1578), received as good a classical education as their brother, the heir to the Earldom.[58] Included in that schooling was John Radcliffe (1538x43-1568x85), the stepbrother of the Arundel children. John was the only child of the Earl's second wife, Mary Arundell of Lanherne and her first husband the Earl of Sussex. The interest of Fitzalan in a high level of erudition, particularly for his daughters, suggests that when he chose a wife he might have been more likely to choose a well-educated woman. This idea is reinforced when we consider that by the time of the Earl's marriage with Mary Arundell in 1545, she was not a young girl with the majority of her childbearing years ahead of her. Thus, it is hard to argue for the Earl's last marriage based on a desire to produce more heirs. The desire for an intelligent educated companion and stepmother seems more likely.[59] An education for Mary Arundell was virtually impossible without interest, support, and opportunity provided during her formative years by her parents at Lanherne, similar to other contemporary, but few recorded, parents of daughters such as Henry VIII, Thomas More,

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[55] Vivian, *Devon*, 171 and 516. The visitations recorded that Sir John Kirkham's sister, Margaret, married a "Grenvile of Stowe" (her first husband was still alive in 1472, and the Grenvile was reputedly her third husband). It is unclear which Grenvile, but the dating suggests a contemporary male relative of Sir Thomas Grenvile (d.1513). The Herald's Visitation for the Grenvile family is not revealing, and Granville's family history states that Sir Thomas had only one brother, John, who was a priest. Vivian, *Cornwall*, 190-91; Granville, 58.

[56] Orme, 153.

[57] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4-5; Guy, 198.

Mary Arundell was one of the very few women included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Her inclusion was premised on her perceived erudition and the perception of the editors that, as such, she was unique for a woman in the sixteenth century. Regrettably, no such evidence of her erudition or, indeed, of her life exists. Consequently, the entry for her in the new edition of the *Dictionary* will reflect that error. Partial consolation for the absence of written evidence about this interesting woman might have been found in a painting of her, which is listed in an "Inventory" but there is no evidence that the painting exists. I am very grateful to the owner of the "Inventory," the Earl of Scarbrough, for inviting me to look at the document. His Lordship is a descendant of a daughter of the Earl of Arundel, Jane (d. 1578), who married Lord Lumley. "Inventory," in the collection of the Earl of Scarbrough, Sandbeck Park, Maltby, Rotherham, Yorkshire; Pamela Y. Stanton, "Arundell, Mary," *ODNB*.

[58] Retha M. Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation*, *Contribution in Women's Studies* 38 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1983), 103-105.

[59] One document bearing the name of Mary Arundell is a letter written to her Aunt, Honor Lisle, in April 1537. This sole example provides no opportunity to determine if the writing is by Mary's hand or that of a scribe. Thus, it is impossible to determine anything about the nature of her erudition from the quality or quantity of the writing. Byrne, 4: 283-84, 532.

and Anthony Cooke.[60] The library bequeathed by Mary's half-brother, Sir John Arundell, in 1557 to his widow, Elizabeth, may well have been a continuance of a library with which he grew up at Lanherne.[61] John might either have collected the contents of his library himself or inherited all or some of the materials from his parents.

Ample evidence shows how active in religion people in England were on a daily basis, including the more privileged in society. For decades before the 1530s, the gentry, who were more able to afford to support the Church financially, funded the building, restoration, and enhancement of parish churches and their fabric. Further, all levels of the population, both rural and urban, actively engaged in guilds and fraternities.[62] That the Arundells of Lanherne had connections with religious orders was not unusual; seeking spiritual benefits was commonplace and economic wealth eased that path. What is unusual is that the evidence concerning the Arundells survives, seducing the unwary reader into supporting the traditional historiographical picture of the Arundells of Lanherne as so religiously conservative as to deeply divide the family group by 1549.

The idea of dogmatic traditionalism in religion is also a charge levied by contemporary and modern writers who created a negative picture of Honor Grenvile, Lady Lisle, a sister of Katherine Arundell of Lanherne. These writers sought either to implicate her as the cause of the downfall of her husband, Lord Lisle, and his eventual death in the Tower, or to fit her religious conservatism into their perception of her as an obnoxious woman who meddled in governmental affairs that were the prerogative of her husband as Governor of Calais.

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[60] Henry VIII's daughters, of course, were Mary and Elizabeth, while Margaret (d.1544) was the daughter of Sir Thomas More (whose daughter Mary, a Greek and Latin scholar, married James Basset, a son of Honor Grenvile). The Cooke daughters, possibly, are less generally well known. They were Mildred (b.1526), Anne (b.1528), Elizabeth (c.1530? – 1605 or later), Catherine (d. by 1591), and Margaret (d.1558). Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, 23-26,33, 35-36, 44, 94-97, 104-109, 113, 133, 206, 208.

[61] AR 21/16, AR 21/17, AR 21/15/1,2, CRO; PCC, 305 Stevenson (1564). PROB 11/47 ff. 227, PRO.

[62] See, for example, Haigh, *English Reformations*, 29-30, 35-36; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 142-54; Bainbridge, *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside*.

Within three months of the arrival of the Lisle family in Calais in June 1533, Thomas Cromwell expressed concerns to the new Governor regarding inappropriate involvement of his wife in government affairs. Cromwell did not specify where the problem lay, and the letter does not refer to religious matters.[63] However, the adherence of Lady Lisle to traditional religious practices was commented on by some people in Calais, and then transmitted to the centre of government in London. The reports caused John Husee, the Lisles' highly attentive agent in London, to write to his employers suggesting that his mistress would be well advised to be less obvious in her religious practices. For example, as early as 1534, Husee wrote to Lord Lisle to report, "that divers hath told" him "that my lady is very superstitious," and was one of "the chief causers of the same."[64] Almost four years later, Husee wrote on the same concerns to both Honor and her husband. In a letter of March 1538, Husee was quite straightforward; Lady Lisle's use of "ceremonies" such as "long prayers and offering of candles," her criticism of and lack of "conformity" even partially "to the world as it now goeth" would be better left undone. Two weeks later he suggested to his mistress that her critics would have no fodder for gossip if she omitted her "memories" (prayers for the dead) from her daily devotions.[65] Although Husee clearly feared retribution from London would be perpetrated on his employers unless Lady Lisle was warned, nothing happened until 1540. Lisle's arrest then was due to political machinations surrounding Cromwell's downfall rather than Honor's lack of adherence to government-imposed changes to religion.

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[63] The Lisles went to Calais in June 1533, and Cromwell's letter is dated September 1, 1533, Byrne, 1: 6, and 552-53.

[64] Ibid., 5: 63.

[65] Ibid., 5: 80.

Husee's suggestions that Lady Lisle be more circumspect in her religious practice reveal that she was neither a passive observer of the government changes being implemented nor willing to accept imposed changes. However, did she differ from other people in England at the time? Other women in the reign of Henry VIII objected to the changes made to religious practices, but Honor Grenvile's actions need to be examined in contexts relevant to her life and this study.[66] From the comments in Husee's letters, it is evident that Honor continued her usual practices when legislation determined she should change them. In 1535, Honor's stepdaughter, Jane Basset, at home at Umberleigh in Devon, wrote to her stepmother at Calais to ask if Honor's lights should continue to be lit in two local chapels. Muriel St Clare Byrne understood the request to be a criticism of the dereliction of duty of "Sir" John Bonde, the Vicar of Yarnscombe near Umberleigh.[67] Lady Lisle granted Bonde his clerical appointment and he appeared to have a retainer from her concerning some management of Basset affairs at Umberleigh. Further, in his letters to her, Bonde signed himself as "bedisman" showing that he was paid to say prayers, in this case annual obits for Sir John Basset, Honor's first husband.[68] Byrne subsumed Jane's comments under her ongoing disputes with Bonde over the daily management of the Umberleigh manorial affairs.

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[66] For examples of some women's opposition to government policies of Henry VIII see Sharon L. Jansen, *Dangerous Talk and Strange Behaviour: Women and Popular Resistance to the Reforms of Henry VIII* (New York: St Martin's, 1996). Jansen determined that women who objected to government policies came from all areas of society. Further, that the types of opposition they displayed were not defined by their gender. Men were equally if not more likely to be charged by the authorities with harmful gossip, an action stereotypically associated with women. Also, women were found among the ranks of rioters and rebels, actions usually associated with those who bore arms.

[67] Byrne, 3: 58. While Byrne referred to Jane Basset as Honor's stepdaughter, the Herald's visitations recorded Jane as Honor's daughter, Vivian, *Devon*, 47. "Sir John Bonde" might have been a member of the Bond family of Cornwall, related to the Grenviles by marriage. Honor Grenvile's great niece, Katherine Fitz (sister of Honor Carnsew –see previous chapter 3 for references to Honor and her husband, William Carnsew), married a William Bond but a family cannot with the priest, John Bonde, is elusive. Bonde's title, probably, was honorific and commonly described non-graduate priests, as does the title 'Father' in modern society. This point is made by Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, 14. Bonde's name does not appear in the standard reference work by Shaw, *The Knights of England*.

Jane's writing style appears artless, so her request to Honor seems quite clear. However, it is possible that Jane was actually asking Honor for direction regarding the lighting of the lamp and "taper" in the context of the changes to religious practices that were occurring. Jane knew that any letter sent to her stepmother at Calais might be seen by Governor Lisle's political enemies, particularly by those who sought to replace him with one more persuaded toward religious change. By directly referring in her letter to the government's new ban on images in front of which lights were burned, Jane risked compromising the security of her stepmother if she implied Honor would disobey official orders. A light burning before images in religious institutions was no lightweight issue in England in the 1530s. Lamps and candles maintained in local churches at the cost of parishioners, even if they lived in Calais, were usual parts of traditional religion. The lights constituted part of the veneration of saints, and were a source of revenue for the local church until the government outlawed both the worship and the lights.

From as early as 1527, preachers such as Thomas Bilney had condemned both the efficacy of saint worship and the burning of candles before images.[69] Two disparate incidents in 1531 and 1536 illustrate that burning candles before images had become contentious. The neighbours of an Essex woman, Grace Palmer, reported her to the authorities, and Richard Hilles "was hated by his neighbours;" in both cases because they refused to contribute toward candles, presumably in their respective local churches.[70] It was not until the Injunctions of 1538 that candles before images were expressly forbidden, but the groundwork was laid in 1536.[71] Earlier, the Injunctions of August 1536 forbade the clergy to "set forth or extol any images, [or] relics."[72] The next month, Jane wrote to her mother to ask for direction concerning "your lamp in the chapel" and "your taper in the chapel of our lady of Alston."[73] At a practical level, money to pay for candles may have prompted Jane to write to Honor. Finances were a constant source of worry for the Lisles; they never had sufficient money to pay their debts. However, Jane may have had alternative motivation to write. Although the lights themselves were not banned until 1538, the images before which they burned had been banned when Jane wrote to Lady Lisle. The young woman could well have been concerned at what she should do, given the increasing tensions over religious practices and the prominent political place of her stepmother. Clearly, Honor, despite her absence from England, maintained her own religious presence in institutions close to her family home.

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[68] Byrne, 3: 46-66, 321-25.

[69] J.F. Davis, *Heresy and Reformation in the South-East of England, 1520-1559* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1983), 33-53.

Honor Lisle's reputation as a dogmatic religious traditionalist opposed to government policies does her a disservice and invites re-examination. For Lady Lisle, devotion to her husband was paramount in her life. Also important to them both was Lord

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[70] Haigh, *English Reformations*, 68.

[71] Tanner, 94, "the clergy were to 'suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers ... to be set afore any image or picture.'"

[72] Ibid., 93.

[73] Byrne, 3: 58.

Lisle's favour in the King's eyes.[74] Prudence and astuteness were qualities often necessary for survival in the sixteenth century, and particularly for the Lisles, as Arthur's Plantagenet blood was an ever-present negative factor under the rule of a monarch who still sought hereditary stability for his throne. Honor knew as well as anyone else, and better than most, the necessity of remaining in favour with the King. Thus, as Byrne deduced, Honor probably quickly made "herself acceptable to 'the Lady Anne'"; the woman destined to be the new Queen after the repudiation of Queen Catherine of Aragon by the King.[75] Between the emergence of Anne Boleyn as a favourite of the King and her execution, gifts flowed from Honor Lisle to Lady, then Queen, Anne. In addition, Lady Lisle was one of the six women in attendance on Anne when Henry VIII went to Calais in 1532 to meet the French King.[76] Honor's actions towards Anne Boleyn reflect the Lisles' acceptance of the King's divorce policy regardless, as Byrne pointed out, of the Lisle's private sympathies.[77] In this instance, Honor's pragmatism and deep affection for her husband could not compare with her supposed dogmatic religious traditionalism.

Not only was Honor Lisle the wife of the most important political representative of the King of England in Calais, but also she was the wife of the monarch's uncle. Like all important men and women she received many requests for assistance and patronage. One of her most interesting connections was Sister Anthoinette de Saveuses, a nun in a convent at Dunkirk. The relationship between the two women produced a remarkably 'chatty' set of letters reflecting mundane daily affairs. During the period of their correspondence, Lady Lisle purchased nightcaps made by the convent nuns for distribution to women of her acquaintance in England. Of greater interest than caps, however, is Sister Saveuses' request to Honor for her patronage of another nun who wished to live as a recluse in Calais. The letter written by Honor in reply to the request from Sister Saveuses has not survived, but the nun's reply to Lady Lisle in late 1539 is revealing. The Sister wrote that if she "had known the truth of the statutes of the noble and renowned lord, the King of England," she "would never have ventured" to make such a request of Lady Lisle and thanks her for her reply.[78] Both the nun's request and her statement reflect ignorance of any non-compliance by Honor to the King's changes to religion in the previous years. Sister Saveuses had the opportunity to be informed of events in Calais, because she was a cousin of Madame de Riou in whose household Honor had placed her daughter, Anne Basset. From the tone of a letter exchanged between the Riou and Saveuses cousins the familial relationship was close and affectionate, so news was undoubtedly shared.[79] Further, the prominence of the Riou family undoubtedly made them well aware of English politics, thus the nun would have known through her family of any misfortunes that befell Honor Lisle, particularly when they involved religion and political misfortune.

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[74] Ibid., 1: 332-34, Byrne suggested that the Lisles acceptance might be dated as early as the summer of 1530; 1: 255.

[75] Ibid., 1:333-34.

[76] Ibid., 1: 249-52.

To which "statutes" Sister Saveuses refers is unclear. Given the year, she could have meant the Act that dissolved the larger religious houses. Following the legislated dissolution of the smaller houses in 1536, the Commons passed an Act for the dissolution

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[77] Ibid., 1: 331.

[78] Ibid., 1: 576-77, 2: 117-18, 144; Byrne determined that de Saveuses was a Carmelite nun, and a relative of Madame de Riou, 3: 176; 5:696-97.

[79] Ibid., 3: 176; A letter from Madame de Riou to Anthoinette de Saveuses dated November 1539 was enclosed by the Sister in one of her letters to Lady Lisle, 5: 728-29.

of abbeys in May 1539. The process was rapidly completed, so was well underway by the time Sister Saveuses made her request on October 31.[80] Religious orders were never dissolved in England nor were religious banned; rather it was the means for them to exist that disappeared. Sister Saveuses' request was only marginally associated with a religious establishment, and more with a religious individual's need. According to Honor's purported reply, she appears to have had no intention of flouting the King's law as it applied to religious houses, even though the Act of Six Articles tempering religious change was enacted in June 1539 and Sister Saveuses was proposing only a single cell for the nun. Prudence and political sensitivity does not accord with the traditional picture of Lady Lisle. Even the sympathetic St Clare Byrne considered the Lisles insufficiently astute to recognize the prudence inherent in outwardly conforming to religious changes. Apparently, it "never occurred" to Lady Lisle that it would be prudent for her to privatise her traditional religious devotions, at a time when "the King was 'reforming' the church."[81] When Byrne argued that the traditional religious devotions practised by Lady Lisle would have been acceptable in her private chapel in the southwest, she implied that Honor's activity was totally private. However, this idea raises the whole question of public versus private; was there, in fact, any such thing as a private act by individuals? In the context of the times, religious devotions practised in a private chapel remote from Calais were surely not hidden from prying household eyes.

Lady Lisle was unwilling to consider the request from Sister Saveuses in contravention of royal policy. The ambiguity of Honor's stance, and by association her husband's, is reflected further in their willingness to take advantage of the changes occurring in England. Like many people in the 1530s, Arthur, Lord Lisle, was keen to purchase dissolved religious properties in England and Calais. He was no different to many people spread along the continuum of religious opinion.[82] Similarly, diverse people acquired various editions and translations of the Scriptures. To assume that the people who acquired and read copies of scriptural translations were reformers is far too easy and uncomplicated. John Foxe's assertion that "popery and printing" were incompatible was not the case, as will be seen in the case of Lady Lisle.[83]

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[80] Youings, *Dissolution of the Monasteries*, 155-59, 191-94; Guy, 147.

Fundamental catechal texts such as the Lord's Prayer were taught and were common in English in the fifteenth century and in print at least as early as 1500.[84] In the 1530s, as Christopher Haigh noted, a plethora of very popular devotional works was produced for a lay audience.[85] One of the most successful printings was of the *Primer*, a collection of English and Latin devotions, which sold almost one hundred reprint editions between 1501 and 1535.[86] It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that in 1536 Lady Lisle received a "gospel" from her daughter "to carry with" her "paternoster."[87] The language of the text Honor received cannot be determined, but it should not be assumed that their form defined her allegiance. Likewise, other religious texts acquired by the Lisles while at Calais must be examined from a perspective of both religious and secular allegiance.

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[81] Byrne, 1: 42.

[82] Ibid., 3: 296, 340, 576.

[83] Townsend, 3: 720; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 77.

[84] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* 80-81.

[85] Haigh, *English Reformations,* 26.

[86] Byrne, 5: 244.

In September 1538, John Husee, the Lisles' London representative, sent Lord Lisle "a great bible and a small bible," but it is unclear what Husee meant.[88] Did he refer to the size of the bibles, or to the Great Bible then being printed in Paris at Cromwell's command?[89] If it was the Great Bible, then Lisle could have been complying with the October 1538 Injunctions that required all parish churches to have a copy of "one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English."[90] Alternatively, he might have simply wanted a copy of the new edition. Two reasons suggest that the version sent by Husee was not the Great Bible. First, there were considerable difficulties surrounding the printing of Cromwell's edition, so it is questionable if there were copies in England in September 1538 available to Husee to send to Calais. Second, in his letter, Husee quoted the prices of the "great" and "small bible" as ten and five shillings, respectively, which suggests he was referring to size rather than edition.[91] In terms of edition, the question remains as to the language in which they were written, and why Arthur Lisle wanted two bibles. If the books were not in the vernacular, why would Lisle not have purchased them in Calais? Cost offers a possible explanation, particularly given the Lisles' ongoing financial problems. Lord Lisle's desire for the scriptures is puzzling, perhaps, given Byrne's view of him a career man through force of circumstances intent only on carrying

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[87] Ibid., 3: 167.

[88] Ibid., 5: 224. Elton, *Reform & Reformation*, 277.

[89] Cromwell had arranged for a revised translation of the Bible by Miles Coverdale, which was ready by mid-1538. The quality of French printing motivated Cromwell to send that version to Paris for printing. The process was halted when the French government stopped the printing, thus delaying the new edition's availability. Elton, *Reform & Reformation*, 277; Guy, 182; Dickens, *English Reformation*, 133.

[90] Tanner, 94.

[91] Byrne, 5: 224.

out the King's will while leaving "devotion to his lady."[92] Even a man with little interest in outward daily devotions, however, may well have liked to read the scriptures in the evening after a day of governing.

If, in 1538, Lord Lisle did not have a vernacular edition of the "bible," in 1539, he was in the market for a translated version and his copy did not come from England. John Bekynsaw, an Oxford scholar living in Paris, wrote to Lady Lisle and said he "would send a French bible to my lord."[93] It is not known whether the book was an unsolicited gift from Bekynsaw, although his comment to Lady Lisle suggests the bible was requested for or by her husband. The book sent by Bekynsaw was a translation, because he told Honor that he had "heard many mennys blame and reprove the translation and it is not only the text, but other men's advices amongst myngylld."[94] Bekynsaw's comments suggest that the "French bible" he sent was an English translation rather than a French version. His letter is dated February 1539, so he might have had access to a copy of Cromwell's Great Bible. The fact that the translation was being discussed and questioned at that time, suggests it was Coverdale's revised translation authorized by Cromwell, although the timing is problematic.[95] Despite Bekynsaw's caution to the Lisles concerning the translation, he was clearly instructed by them to send the "French bible." According to Honor's letter of May 1539, they received their copy "the Friday before Palm Sunday last passed."[96] In addition, in that same letter of acknowledgement, Honor requested "a bible printed in English ... if there be any." While her request, specifically, for an English version further confuses understanding of which version Bekynsaw sent, the fact remains that Honor wanted the scriptures in her own language, and she did possess at least one such copy. For in the Lisles' "Inventory of ... Household Goods" taken after Arthur's arrest in 1540, there appears "in my ladyes Chambre ... A great bible."[97] There are no other texts listed in the inventory, which does not, of course, mean there were no others in the Lisles' possession. It is extremely difficult to surmise the depth and nature of the Lisles' religious opinions based on their acquisition of printed versions of the scriptures. Arthur Lisle may well have been, as Byrne suggested, a man more focused on his work governing for the King than on his daily devotions which he left "to his lady," but that does not make Arthur any less or Honor any more pious. As Byrne herself noted, in terms of pressing business Lisle was really no different than his nephew, the King, whom the Imperial Ambassador reported as having taken letters with him to read when he attended Mass.[98]

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[92] Ibid., 1: 432-33.

[93] Ibid., 3: 111; 4: 521; 6: 264-65. Bekynsaw was one of a group of scholars to whom the Lisles entrusted the continuing education of James Basset in Paris from about 1535. In addition, Bekynsaw was a friend of William Roper, the husband of Thomas More's daughter Margaret. The Ropers were the parents of Mary whose second marriage was to James Basset.

[94] Ibid., 4: 521.

[95] According to Dickens the first edition of the Great Bible was available in April 1539 and a second edition was printed a year later. Guy noted that about 3,000 Bibles were printed in Paris in November 1539. Then, after the French government stopped the printing, Cromwell negotiated for the removal to England of 2,500 copies that had been impounded by the Inquisitor in Paris. After this he had a further 3,000 copies printed at London in the Spring of 1540. Presumably, if there were only 2,500 copies to be returned from Paris out of a run of 3,000, then 500 copies were missing. By comparison; Elton wrote that the edition was available first in November 1539. Thus, it was possible that there were copies of the Great Bible at large in

Understanding Honor Lisle's religious identity is difficult. While it is easy to be swayed by contemporary and modern opinions of her, those views in and of themselves encourage exploration to better understand this interesting and exciting woman. Rather

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Paris to which Bekynsaw had access when he wrote to Honor Lisle in February 1539. Dickens, *English Reformation,* 133-34; Guy, 182; Elton, *Reform and Reformation,* 277.

[96] Byrne, 5: 480.

[97] Ibid., 6: 189-210, and 265.

than criticising her based on her gender and religious practices, it is far better to understand her life and to view her as an important fulcrum around which a large number of people lived their lives and whose lives were influenced by her. The impression Honor tends to leave is of a woman who was something of a whirlwind. Whether she was as devoted to her first husband, John Basset, as she was to Arthur, her second, is unknown. The undying love she bore Arthur filled much of her life, but did not distract her from caring for the myriad daily activities required to run estates in both Devon and Cornwall, maintain extended family relationships, care for her children, and fulfil her own spiritual needs. The very complexity and diversity of her daily activities reflect the life of a woman for whom daily activities were not compartmentalized; they were who she was – Honor Grenvile, Basset, and Lisle rolled into one and related to a great extended kinship group by blood, marriage, geography, and a shared and inherited culture.

The plethora of unique evidence of the *Lisle Letters* is not available to us when considering another member of Honor Lisle's family, her niece by marriage, Maude Bevill, the wife of Sir Richard Grenvile (d.1550). Honor was not the only woman in the Grenvile family to be associated with the convent at Dunkirk; Maud also, and surprisingly, had a connection with the nuns. The contact is surprising because Richard is usually seen as an early and ardent supporter of religious change in the 1530s, particularly given his supposed defence of Trematon Castle against the rebels in 1549 in the name of reformed religion.[99] Lady Maude Grenvile was an active participant in family affairs. She accompanied her husband to Calais when he was appointed Marshal under his uncle, Lord Lisle, and remained in contact with her aunt, Honor, when the

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[98] Ibid., 1: 433.

Grenviles returned to England. One letter written to Honor by Maude shows the contact between the Grenviles and Lord Russell, who was a supporter of religious change.[100] The contact, however, is unsurprising as Russell was the most important representative of the King in the southwest at that time, and he was the newly established and only regional nobleman.

A.L. Rowse accused Sir Richard Grenvile of being "an opportunist," presumably meaning he had an eye to social, economic, and political advantage, and so "supported the Reformers."[101] Equally, he may have been an opportunist whose leanings toward reform based on religiosity were mitigated by his wife's influence. In addition, H.M. Speight suggested that for men like Richard conformity comprised their worldview, always to a higher authority whether religious or political.[102] Conformity came in many forms, and public compliance sometimes belied 'private' practice. Contemporaries did not regard opportunism as negatively as do some modern minds. Grenvile, like many of his peers including his aunt and uncle, the Lisles, experienced financial difficulties. In 1537, he wrote to Thomas Cromwell pointing out the costs he had incurred over the past several years. There had been three family marriages, he had spent five years attending Parliament, and had paid off the debts and bequests of his father. In addition, his position

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[99] For a discussion of the events at Trematon Castle see chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[100] Byrne, 1: 87; 5: 640-41. Under her husband's uncle, Lord Lisle, Sir Richard was appointed Marshal of Calais, Byrne, 2:428. It is evident from Lady Grenvile's good wishes to other ladies in Calais (from the references to her in the letters and from her relationship with Sister Saveuses, the nun at Calais, both discussed previously in this chapter) that she accompanied her husband to the port. In March of 1539, Lord Russell was appointed President of the newly formed Council of the West, and he remained in the region until November 1539, Youings, "Council of the West," 54. Given that Lady Grenvile's letter was written at the end of August 1539, the Grenviles, probably, were or had been in the company of Lord and Lady Russell in the southwest.

[101] Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville, 32.*

[102] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 95.

as Marshal at Calais was expensive. Consequently, Grenvile had costs of over two thousand marks.[103] Thus, any positive relationship between him and Russell speaks mostly to political and economic astuteness rather than to profound commitment to religious change.

Given the intrinsic nature of religion in contemporary lives, there must have been considerable understanding, discussion, and negotiation on matters of religion between the Grenvile spouses. A crack in Richard's reformist religious persona has already appeared in the previous discussion of the events in 1549 at Trematon Castle. That flaw is worth pursuing in the context of his wife's relationship with the convent of nuns at Dunkirk. If the religious preferences of the Grenviles of Stowe, Richard and Maude, were far more traditional than previously thought, then their shared and inherited culture bound them to their family as much as did blood, marriage, and geographical propinquity.

Maude Grenvile, "that good lady the wife of Monsieur the Marshal," is the subject of comments in a 1539 letter written by Sister de Saveuses, the nun at the Dunkirk convent, to Honor Lisle, "Madame, my Lady Deputy."[104] Maude clearly showed an interest in caps sewn by the nuns and in selling them on behalf of the convent, probably to women of her acquaintance in England. This is a mere fragment of information, but is deserving of treatment as a serious topic because it not only further illuminates the life of Maude Grenvile but also suggests caution, albeit tentatively, regarding the traditional picture of her husband's support of religious change. The connection between Maude and the convent was at the end of the decade in which her husband, supposedly, avidly supported religious change. If his strong desire for both political and economic advancement and his devotion to religious change compromised his relationship with his wife because she was in contact with French nuns, there is no evidence. On the contrary, the closeness of their relationship until their lives ended is discussed earlier in this work. Of course, they may well have disagreed on religious change leaving Maud to maintain both her traditional beliefs and those important familial connections.

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[103] Byrne, 4: 386.

[104] Byrne, 5: 387-89. Sister Saveuses included both Lady Maude and Honor in her wish that they purchase more caps. She wrote also that the quality of the caps had to be acceptable to the great houses of England. All of which suggests that the women were sending the articles to a wide circle of families. The addresses by Saveuses to the two women reflect that Maude Grenvile's husband was Marshal of Calais, while Honor Lisle's was the Deputy.

If Sir Richard Grenvile was an opportunist and dogmatic early supporter of religious change, it is questionable that he would have suffered his uncle, John Grenvile, to hold clerical livings in Devon; livings for which Richard held the benefices and in which John performed the offices as a traditional priest. Also questionable is whether Richard would have left a "legacy" of property to his "unkell John Greynfyld parson of Kylkehampton," if that uncle's religious worldview was diametrically opposed to his nephew's.[105] John Grenvile (d.1580), the son of Sir Thomas Grenvile and his second wife, Jane Hill, was a half-brother to Honor Grenvile and her sisters. John was the Grenvile son designated for a career in the church, for Sir Thomas, in his will, provided his heir, Roger, with instructions concerning his half-brother, directing that

> John Greynfelde, yf he bee disposed to be a Preste, to have the next avoydance of one of the benefices of Bedyford [Bideford] or of Kykehamton [Kilkhampton]. And yf he will be no Preste, that then my sonne ropger Graynfelde and his heires see him have sum reasonable living of landes by their discrecions.[106]

John Grenvile became the priest at Kilkhampton in 1524, a position he retained until his death in 1580. No evidence indicates that he either married when it became legal for priests to do so, or that he fathered any children. His avowed celibacy was no barrier to widespread familial relationships, for the procreation of his siblings resulted in a large extended family throughout the southwestern counties. As Richard Carew remarked, this "Master Grenville, a parson of Kilkhampton" was "uncle, and great uncle" to well over three hundred people.[107] Personal preference or devotion to traditional religion might explain John Grenvile's lack of marriage after it became legal for his profession. However, John was a priest during all the tumultuous years of the legal and illegal status of clerical marriage, when political expediency may well have been the greatest of motivating factors.[108] Other evidence, however, indicates that John was more traditional in his religious commitment.

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[105] Grenfeld, Richard knt., Devon, IPM, WSL.

[106] Granville, p. 69-70; "Arundell Wills," 88.

Much of the fabric of Kilkhampton Church, including the rood staircase, R. Dew suggested, was rebuilt during John Grenvile's time as priest. Given the reforming religious spirit of the century and Grenvile's predilection for orthodoxy, Dew surmised that the stairs could have been built only during Mary's reign. He suggests also that the dismissal of the rector who followed Grenvile at Kilkhampton Church provides evidence of Grenvile's conservatism. Eusebius Paget was deprived of the living because he refused to use the authorized and only Prayer Book. Paget's defence was based on there being no Book provided for the church – a likely situation, Dew commented, if "his predecessor [Grenvile] kept to the old ways."[109] If Grenvile adhered to traditional religion when faced with change, his stance served him well in 1549 if any of his parishioners joined the rebels, as did men from Morebath, the parish of Sir Christopher Trychay, some forty miles away across the moor in north Devon. The Articles written by the rebel leaders show that the uprising was not about a return to Roman obedience. Rather it was a desire to return to religion as "our soueraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the eight set forth in his latter daies."[110]

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[107] Carew, *Survey*, p. 187.

[108] For discussion of the trials, tribulations, and complexities surrounding clerical marriage see E.J. Carlson, *Marriage and the English Reformation*, *Family, Sexuality and Social Relations in Past Times*, gen. eds. Peter Laslett and Michael Anderson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 49-66; and Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), chap. 5.

[109] R. A. Dew, *History of the Parish and Church of Kilkhampton* (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton, 1928), 10, 25.

Among the Articles submitted to the King, another demanded that priests "shall live chaste without marriage, as St. Paule did."[111] John Grenvile's peer at Morebath, Christopher Trychay, was also one of the many priests who remained unmarried. The parish records kept by Trychay from 1520 to 1574, reveal a priest and a community who "conformed and conformed again" at great social and economic cost through the many decades and reigns of imposed religious change. When Mary came to the throne, Morebath "rallied to the restoration of Catholicism" with "fervour."[112] Given the influence in Morebath held by Trychay for over half-a-century, the deployment to the rebel forces in 1549 of five men from that community with the parish's blessing and financial support affirms a picture of religious traditionalism led by their long-time priest.[113] For such a man, marriage may well have been anathema, and John Grenvile, priest at Kilkhampton, perhaps, was little different from his Devon peer. Thus, for both men and many like them in the ministry, the rebels' article probably resonated well in 1549. John Grenvile survived as a traditional priest until his death in 1580, in the face of unprecedented religious turmoil in England. No doubt, he exercised political prudence similar to his neighbour, Christopher Trychay.

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[110] From "Articles No. 1" sent by the rebels to the government in June 1549, Rose-Troup, 213.

[111] Townsend, 5: 732; Rose-Troup, 213, from the "Articles" of the rebels in 1549.

[112] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars,* 502.

[113] This point is well made and discussed by Duffy, *Voices of Morebath,* 139.

Sir Richard Grenvile is viewed by some historians as "an early convert to the doctrines of the Reformers."[114] His early support of religious change in the 1530s usually is predicated on at least three different factors: first, his eager acquisition of dissolved religious properties; second, having witnessed the tragic downfall of his aunt and uncle, Lady and Lord Lisle, because of their "devotion to traditional Catholicism;" and finally, his defence against the rebels of Trematon Castle in Cornwall in 1549 in the name of Protestantism.[115] All those actions suggest that Richard would have taken a negative view of his uncle's stance at Kilkhampton, particularly in the parish in which Richard resided with his family and for which he held the advowson. However, Sir Richard did not defend Trematon Castle in 1549 in the name of the reformed religion. The downfall of his aunt and uncle at Calais was not the result of their devotion to traditional religion. Richard's wife, Maude, with whom he shared a mutually devoted marriage, was openly connected with a French convent. Further, if Richard's conversion to religious change was predicated on the acquisition of dissolved religious properties, he was in diverse and illustrious company throughout the Kingdom (including his uncle, Lord Lisle). We cannot equate acquisition of dissolved religious properties with reforming zeal. Regardless of their social status and their position on a continuum of religious opinion, people around the country sought to benefit from the economic windfall.[116] As Richard Carew wrote when describing the dissolution, "the golden showre of the dissolved Abbey lands, rayned welnere into every gapers mouth."[117] There were men at the highest level of government and as diverse as Thomas Cromwell, the King's senior minister and a prime mover in religious change, and the Governor of Calais, Lord Lisle, Sir Richard Grenvile's uncle.

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[114] Granville, 81.

[115] Chynoweth, 174.

Grenvile's cousin, Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne, acquired sufficient property to enable him to found a wealthy branch of the family at Wardour Castle in Wiltshire.[118] Also, as a Receiver of the Court of Augmentations, he oversaw the transfer of ownership of religious property to the Crown despite his devotion to traditional religion.[119] The dissolution of religious properties and their acquisition by the laity in the 1530s and 1540s sometimes was a complex combination of preserving traditional religion and gaining economic advantage. Often it is impossible to determine where allegiances lay, but involvement in the unique event is not an indicator of early reformist ardour.

A good example of the astuteness of some gentry during the Dissolution is contained in a letter written by Sir Piers Edgcumbe. In 1536, government legislation dissolved all religious houses worth under two hundred pounds a year, and Sir Piers wrote to Thomas Cromwell in response to the Act informing "Mr. secretory" that his family was the founder in Devon of both a "pryour" at Totnes and a "nunry" at Cornworthy.[120] He asked Cromwell, through whom he knew the "kyngges pleasure"

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[116] Byrne, 3: 296, 340, 576.

[117] Carew, *Survey*, 110.

[118] Byrne, 3: 167, 296-97, 339-40, 576.

[119] Youings, "The terms of disposal of the Devon Monastic Lands," 104, 234-35. Youings' work is an analysis of the disposal in one county.

[120] P. Edgcombe, founder of the priory of "Totness," and nunnery of "Cornworthy;" desires to have them spared, or to have the temporalities thereof, [25 March 1536], MS Cotton Cleopatra E. iv. 258, British

worked, if "the prior ... and hys bredere" may "leve on" while Edgcumbe has "the temperall possessyons yn parte theroff ... ffor concyderacyons that I am ffownder off bothe howsys." Sir Piers had no desire to remove the religious, but he wished to receive the benefit of his family's foundations, a not unusual attitude for the time. Edgcumbe's attitude reflects the conundrum in which the more privileged in society found themselves in the years of religious change.

The more privileged social group may have already separated their political and economic interests from their religious loyalties by the "eve of the Reformation."[121] Ronald H. Fritze argued that many gentry in Hampshire practised compartmentalization of politics and religion in the 1560s.[122] Whether that kind of separation was possible in the sixteenth century, particularly in the first half of the century or even before the 1580s is arguable. However, cautious action and circumspection were crucial to survival if religious sensibilities differed radically from the contemporary political scene. Some people were so committed to their religion that they were willing to die for that dedication, but the world was not peopled with saints. Much later in the century, some were willing to suffer the penalties imposed by the government of Elizabeth I for not attending church, for example the recusant Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1590), who was repeatedly imprisoned and paid enormous fines. In 1549, however, the southwest

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Library, London. Totnes is just under halfway from Plymouth to Exeter, and Cornworthy is close to Totnes. The house at Totnes was founded c.1088 as an alien Benedictine house and had about six religious at the time of the dissolution. The Priory of Cornworthy was a house of Augustinian canonesses with an uncertain foundation date between the early thirteenth and fourteenth century. There were seven nuns in the house at the time of dissolution in 1539. Knowles and Hadcock, 57, 78, 278-79.

[121] Heal and Holmes, 325. The "eve of the Reformation" is a term with a lyrical tone often repeated, rarely defined, but employed as a generic way of referring to the period before the government imposed changes of the 1530s.

family group still shared a commitment to traditional religion that enabled them to avoid catastrophic disunity.

While one historian describes the Edgcumbe family as being one of the five leading Protestant families, including the Grenviles, in Cornwall by 1570, that commitment was not evident in the family before the death of Sir Richard Edgcumbe c.1561.[123] Quite the contrary, for the evidence suggests continuing commitment to traditional religion. The will of Sir Piers Edgcumbe (d.1539), according to his descendant the fourth Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, was "the last in the family records that bears the impress of the Roman faith."[124] Pier's will was similar to that of his father, Sir Richard (d.1489), written fifty years earlier, as both made extensive provision for the salvation of their souls. Piers bequeathed his soul "to almighty god ... our blessed lady saint mary and to all the blessed company heryn." Extensive provision was made for the "salary and wages" of priests "to sing mass and say other divine services daily" for his soul in parish churches in Devon and Cornwall for many years, and for annual obits to be held in the parish church of Plymouth. Bequests were made also for both the poor and prisoners in Launceston gaol, and a year's wages for each of his household servants.[125]

The testament contains wording that reflects a man traditional in religion who retained that devotion until his death. The will was written in 1530 and went through probate after his death in 1539. Despite the turmoil of religious reform in the 1530s,

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[122] Ronald H. Fritze, "The Role of the Family and Religion in the Local Politics of Early Elizabethan England: The Case of Hampshire in the 1560s," *The Historical Journal* 25, no. 2 (1982): 267-87.

[123] Chynoweth, 226.

[124] William Henry (1832-1917) was the fourth Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, *Records of the Edgcumbe Family*, 78.

Edgcumbe did not make changes to his will. Yet being on the wrong side of government policy could cost a family dearly in economic and political terms. The extent and intensity of Piers' religious instructions in his last testimony and the obvious trust he placed in his wife, all suggest that Lady Katherine was equally committed to traditional forms of religious beliefs and practices. Like Maude Grenvile, Katherine Edgcumbe was an active widow in the affairs of her dead husband for whose will she was co-executor with her stepson, Richard Edgcumbe. In addition, in 1540 she still managed family affairs from her first marriage with Sir Griffith Rys. She negotiated with "Dame Margt. Lutterell, "for a payment concerning the marriage of their respective children when Mary Rys married the Lutterell heir, John.[126]

Executors and trustees were vitally important in the gentry social group. At a time when all forms of a testator's property were in transfer to new owners or required long-term supervision, without trusted people to ensure good management a family's wealth and therefore their survival was at risk.[127] Most often, those appointed by the testators were family members and although the duties were not always carried out faithfully or with good grace, negative cases tended to be the exception rather than the rule.[128] The appointed roles in wills had both temporal and spiritual dimensions.[129] After the release

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[125] For the will of Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1489) see Egecombe, Will of Richard knt., Friday before 24 June 1489, P.C.C. Doggett 11, WSL; Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta,* 2: 393-94. For copies of the will of Sir Piers Edgcumbe (d.1539) see Nicolas, 547-50 and 745/46, WDRO.

[126] Dame Margt. Lutterell, and Lady Katherine [Aggiscomb], Marriage portion, 10 October 1540, ME 831, CRO; John Lutterell's sister, Margaret, married Piers Edgcumbe, the grandson of Dame Katherine's second husband, Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1539). Vivian, *Devon*, 539; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 141-42.

[127] To lessen wordiness, the term executor is used here in a generic sense to indicate the appointment of people of both genders to the position unless it is a specific appointment as in the case of Lady Edgcumbe.

[128] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 350-51.

[129] Ibid., 235ff.

from purgatory of the soul of the departed, executors were required to repay the debt to God for that release. Prayers, penitential and merciful practices, and pilgrimages involving Continental travel were sometimes required. Rather than viewing these directions as onerous demands on family members, it is important to understand their intrinsic acceptance and value in life. Testators relied on their appointees to fulfil their wishes because the disposal of their temporal property to their direct heirs and other beneficiaries had a direct effect on their spiritual affairs. The property was used partly to provide the temporal actions that achieved the spiritual wishes. Money paid for prayers, pilgrimages, and good works all had the potential to benefit not only the deceased but also the people performing or associated with the acts. As Duffy showed, to executors there was available a "wholesale ... package of benefits, affecting" a "wide ... circle of kinsmen" that "argues for a vivid and extended conviction of the religious reality of the ties of blood."[130] To carry out their wishes, the testators relied on the commitment of their appointees to their religion and to their familial ties, as well as compliance with social norms.

The appointments made in wills were not to be undertaken lightly as the affairs both spiritual and temporal were important. The application of mostly mercenary concerns is easy to make from a modern perspective but, again, the sixteenth-century meanings of the action must be appreciated. Testators were concerned not only with the correct disposition of their worldly goods but also with things spiritual, and the spiritual and temporal dimensions were interwoven in will making and in the appointment of executors and trustees. The people they appointed as their executors were immensely important to the testators. A belief in the ability and trust in the will of appointees to carry out their wishes reflects an enormous confidence in executors ranging through a spectrum of capabilities, not the least of which was similar religious commitment between the testator and the executor. If someone were fervently committed to religious change, then their willingness to carry out traditional wishes would have been highly questionable. Thus, the relationship between the testator and the appointees was extremely important, particularly those in wills written and probated during the contentious sixteenth-century decades of religious change.

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[130] Ibid., 351-54.

When familial relationships appear between testator and appointee, they must be carefully considered in the context of this study. For here is another link in that web of interconnectedness that bound together the family group. The examples of executors in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries discussed in the previous chapter are extremely important to the picture of familial relationships and religious commitment. The will written in 1580 by John Arundell of Trerice (d.1580) appointed "Sir John 'A' of Lanherne Knt" a trustee.[131] By 1580, Sir John Arundell of Lanherne had been arrested and charged as a recusant. That fact did not prevent his cousin at Trerice from appointing Sir John in his will. The only contemporary commentator on the Trerice Arundells was Richard Carew who married Juliana Arundell of Trerice, daughter of Sir John (d.1580). Carew was fulsome in his praise of his father-in-law, but did not refer to the Trerice family in the context of religious beliefs.[132] Rather, it is his modern editor, F.E. Halliday, who made the connection with religious commitment. Carew was "justly proud of his alliance" with the Trerice Arundells, Halliday wrote, because they "were supporters of the new dispensation."[133] On what basis Halliday made that assumption is unclear, other than subscribing to the traditional view of the "deep division" of the southwest gentry.

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[131] Will of John Arundell of Trerice Esquire, PCC 40 Arundell [1580], PROB.11/62 FF. 324R-326, Public Record Office, London.

[132] Carew, *Survey*, 148.

The form and terminology used in wills are important features for historians. For scholars such as A.G. Dickens and Robert Whiting, will preambles and text are the prime indicators of religious change. Change is premised largely on "religious phraseology" that included or omitted 'traditional' statements. In the statements, the testators left their souls to God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the saints in heaven.[134] Dickens concluded, "Anything like a mass movement to omit mention of the Virgin and the saints must reflect a decline of these cults." Dickens' analysis was undertaken in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, in what he termed "conservative and slow-moving parts of England."[135] Comparable in distance from London, Cornwall too is sometimes seen as a conservative county.[136] Therefore, when looking for the dramatic decline of traditional religion in the southwest from 1530 as argued by Whiting, wills are appropriate for examination. In this case, the wills of Jane Grenvile and her father Sir Thomas Grenvile are instructive.

The will of Lady Jane Arundell of Trerice (Jane Grenvile) is dated 1 January 1551, and was proved on 9 March 1552.[137] The terminology used in the document is comparable to that used in the will of her father, Sir Thomas Grenvile, written in 1512. Both father and daughter commenced their testaments with the words "I bequeth my soule" to Almighty God. They both were very specific as to their preferred place of burial. Sir Thomas wished to be buried "in the Church erthe of Bedyford [Bideford], in the south est Part of the Chauncell Dore." Jane Grenvile asked that her "bodie ... be beried" in the "the Church of St Andrewe of Stratton in the south yeld [aisle] of the Churche theare, in the place betwixt my first husband Sir John Arundell Trerys Knight and Sir John Chamond Knight my second and last husband." Absent from Jane's, but present in one version of Sir Thomas's will, is mention of the Virgin and the saints.[138] In 1550, omission of both might have been expected in 'Protestant' wills, but, in Jane's case, as for many other people given the regime in power, the omission may have been prudence on the part of the testator or the scribe.[139] Both father and daughter use very similar wording concerning monies to be spent on behalf of their souls at the discretion of their executors, their respective sons.[140]

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[133] Halliday, 19.

[134] Dickens, *English Reformation,* 191-92; Whiting, "'For the health of my soul,'" 81.

[135] Dickens, *English Reformation,* 192.

[136] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall,* 23.

[137] Granville, 60-61.

The evidence gleaned from wills should not be taken as "'statistical pedantry.'"[141] Margaret Spufford also alerted scholars to many more problems of will analysis, and noted that "each parish has its own scribes, its own sets of common forms, and even, I feel, its own variety of common thought."[142] Will analysis is a problematic area of research and some historians, like Duffy, are far less convinced of the arguments made by scholars such as Dickens. As Duffy pointed out, it is still very difficult for historians to define what exactly they mean by the difference between Catholic and Protestant wills.[143]

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[138] Granville, 69-70; "Arundell Wills," 88, RIC.

[139] See Dickens for a discussion of the idea of omission, *English Reformation,* 192.

[140] Granville, 60-61, 69-70.

[141] Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities* (Cambridge: University Press, 1974), 333.

[142] Ibid., 335.

[143] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 506.

Before 1530, the wording in most wills was very clear as to the wishes of testators; there was no reason not to be clear. Later, however, ambiguous wording reflected the uncertainty of the times. Testators increasingly stated that they wished their executors to use their discretion, thus attempting not to contravene any official legislation.[144]

Given the date of writing his will, Sir Thomas Grenvile's wish to leave money for the good of his soul can be understood without ambiguity. The wishes of his eldest daughter, Jane, however, are less clear. How would her son have spent the monies she wished used "for the wealth of my soul;" presumably in good works, if not in prayer. The legislation dissolving chantries had been enacted in the decade before Jane Grenvile's death; thus, no priests were available in those institutions to fulfil her wishes. Her will reveals that she had a private chaplain, as did Lady Katherine Edgcumbe, but the retention of a chaplain is not helpful in determining religious commitment other than suggesting piety. Nonetheless, monies to pay for prayers and charitable works on behalf of one's soul were surely traditional. The use of a scribe could have influenced the terminology of the document. If Jane retained preferences for more traditional religious practices then her prudence probably played a role in writing her will. Such restraint was not necessary, however, if she wished to express religious feelings that leaned toward change, for she wrote her will in Edward's reign. The death of a monarch or a change in government policies was always a factor for contemporary consideration when committing religious beliefs to paper.

The close relationship Jane Grenvile had with her son shows that she was an important part of her family, and family relationships were significant in her life. Further,

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[143] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 506.

no evidence suggests that she inclined toward religious reform. These factors provide another piece of an increasingly complex picture that reveals the significance of the family group's blood and marriage ties and its shared and inherited culture.

Will making was not the only spiritual and temporal combination that affected family relationships, as godparenting was another important part of family life.[145] Honor Grenvile and her second husband, Arthur Lisle, were probably godparents to two of their grandchildren. Honor and Arthur Basset were the children and heirs of John Basset, Honor's eldest son, and of Francis Lisle, one of Arthur's daughters by his first wife, Eleanor Grey, Viscountess Lisle.[146] The naming of the Basset children suggests that Honor and Arthur were godparents to the two children, a common practice at the time. The responsibility of children's spiritual guidance was not to be taken lightly in the sixteenth century, especially for someone like Honor Lisle. The naming of their children, and particularly of the Basset heir after his maternal grandfather, suggests a close relationship between the generations.

Sir Richard Grenvile was probably connected to his cousin, Richard Chamond, as a godparent. Chamond was a son of Jane Grenvile and her second husband, Sir John Chamond. Thus, Richard Chamond was half-brother to Sir John Arundell of Trerice, and a cousin of both the Arundells of Lanherne and of Sir Richard Grenvile. The Chamond pedigree shows neither a tradition of Richard as a name in the family, nor any ancestor with the name before Jane Grenvile's son. However, Richard was certainly a family tradition in the Grenvile family dating back to Ricus who came, reputedly, to England

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[144] Ibid., 513.

[145] For references to godparenting in England in the 1640s see Durston, 116, 118-20.

with the Normans in 1066. Thus, his name suggests that Richard Grenvile was Richard Chamond's godfather.[147]

The traditional picture of Jane's nephew, Sir Richard Grenvile, is one of an early and avid supporter of religious reform, but that picture is questionable given the earlier discussion about his wife Maude. Lady Maude Grenvile was the sister of Mary Bevill who married Sir John Arundell of Trerice, Jane Grenvile's son. The Bevill connection with the Arundells of Trerice bears examination beyond Maud Bevill's marriage to Sir Richard Grenvile, because the complexity of religious opinions is raised again with another familial connection. Mary Bevill and Sir John Arundell of Trerice were the grandparents of John Arundell of Gwarnack, born in 1557, and heir of his grandfather.[148] A.L. Rowse cast Arundell as one of the "Cornish Catholics," based on his arrest in 1585 while attempting to flee the country.[149] An order dated June 13, 1585 from the Privy Council to the Bishop and Mayor of Exeter required them "'to cause him to be kept in due and safe custody,'" and the "'good masse of money founde aboute hyme'" was to be "'sequestered into the custody of such honest and suffycyent persons as you shall thynke meet.'"[150] A month later on July 14 a similar order for Arundell's release and the restoration of his money was directed to the Sheriff of Exeter. The order was accompanied by a receipt dated July 28 to "'William Martyn, Sheryfe of the Citie of

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[146] N.B. Viscountess Lisle was not the Elizabeth (Eleanor) Grey who married Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1545).

[147] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 84. According to the Chamond pedigree Sir Richard Grenvile was about nineteen years older than his cousin, Richard Chamond, who was born c.1514. In Bindoff, Grenvile is cited as having been born by 1509, 2: 619.

[148] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 12.

[149] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 362.

Exeter'" for 3,800 pounds, received "'By me, Jo. Arundell of Gwarnacke.'"[151] The amount of money carried by Arundell was an enormous sum, and neither probably nor prudently carried on everyday business. If he was planning a life in self-imposed exile because of his religious beliefs, the Privy Council had no objections. "'[H]havyng perused the examynacon of Mr Arundell of Gwarnock do fynde no cause of any further detencon, other of hym-selfe or of his money.'"[152]

No clear evidence suggests the religious commitment of his grandfather, Sir John Arundell of Trerice, only the label of 'Protestant' applied by some historians. He had an adventuring spirit and greatly enhanced the fortunes of his family and, like his peers, served his monarchs well. No evidence suggests that he opposed, in any way, government policies, religious or otherwise. Yet, despite the views of some historians who categorize the Arundells of Trerice as Protestant, uncertainty remains about the religious commitment of the Trerice family. Sir John was prominent among his Cornish peers in 1548 when the government commended local governors for controlling the significant rioting that occurred in West Cornwall. He was, however, like so many of his male kin, absent from his role as local governor in the rebellion a year later. His absence and the ambiguity about his place on the spectrum of religious commitment further supports the idea that family mattered, particularly in 1549. He was tied to his Lanherne and Grenvile cousins by blood, marriage, geographical propinquity, and a shared and inherited culture.

After Sir John's death, in the years when his cousins at Lanherne faced serious difficulties resulting from their devotion to traditional religion, family still mattered. In

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[150] Wylie, 311.

[151] Ibid.

1580, his second son, John Arundell, the renovator of Trerice, appointed his cousin, "Sir John 'A' of Lanherne Knt" a trustee of his will. Further, the Lanherne and Trerice families were reunited again by marriage some years later when Sir John Arundell of Lanherne married Anne Arundell, the only daughter of John Arundell of Trerice (1576-c.1656) and his wife, Mary Cary.[153] Those late sixteenth-century and seventeenth century ties were still in the future in 1549. Nonetheless, the division into 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' of the two most important Arundell families by the time of the rebellion in the southwest must be questioned.

Similarly, the religious culture of the Edgcumbe family bears investigation. Rowse included the Edgcumbes among "the new forward-looking school" by the 1570s; the 'Protestants.'[154] Christopher Haigh followed Rowse's view, referring to the "coalition of coastal Protestant gentry with privateering interests [who] broke the influence of the old county families, the Arundells and Tregians."[155] John Chynoweth defined the Edgcumbes as one of the five "leading Protestant families" in the county by the 1570s.[156] The obvious conclusion is that the Edgcumbes were another family like the Grenviles, significant regionally and nationally for a century and prominent in their support of religious change.

There is no doubt that in the later 1560s, Piers Edgcumbe was seen as having "Puritan" sympathies, noticeably, several years after the death of his father, Sir

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[152] Ibid.

[153] Catalogue of the Arundell Archive, CRO, 4; Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4, 12.

[154] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 347.

[155] Haigh, *English Reformations*, 279.

[156] Ibid., 279; Chynoweth, 226. The other four families were Godolphin, Grenvile, Mohun, and Trelawney.

Richard.[157] Further, Anne Dowrish (Edgcumbe), a sister of Piers, in 1589, published "French Historie," a poem written at the height of English fears of Spanish invasion that dramatised the larger struggle of religious 'reformers' against tyrannical regimes.[158] The polarities of evil and godliness are unmistakable in her work as she recounted the history of bloody events on the Continent. She was highly critical of Continental tyrants who persecuted and murdered the godly. A fate she feared could befall England. The turmoil in France, she warned, could happen in England:

> That Noble Queene *Elizabeth* chiefe Pastor of they sheepe:
> And that she maie finde out, and hunt with perfect hate
> The Popish hearts of fained frends before it be too late:
> And that in wofull France the troubles that we see,
> To *England* for to shun the like, may now a warning be.[159]

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[157] P.W. Hasler, ed., *The House of Commons 1558-1603*, vol. 2 (London: HMSO, 1981), 74-75.

[158] There is considerable confusion over the parentage and marriages of Anne Edgcumbe. According to Vivian, *Cornwall*, 142, and *Records of the Edgcumbe Family, 1-2,* she was the daughter of Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d. 1561x62) and Elizabeth Tregian so was the daughter, Anne, cited in Sir Richard's will, "Egecombe, Will of Richard knt.," *IPM.* Sidney Lee, however, thought Anne "must have been granddaughter of Sir Richard Edgcumbe and daughter of Peter Edgcumbe, who died in 1607. She married first, the Rev. Hugh Dowrich ... and afterwards Richard Trefusis of Trefusis, Cornwall," *DNB*, s.v. "Dowrich, Anne," by Sidney Lee. George Boase considered Anne to be the daughter of Sir Richard Edgcumbe and wife of Hugh Dowrish, *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, vol.1 (London: Longmans, Green, 1874-1882), 118. Some scholars record Anne Dowrish as the daughter of Margaret Lutterell and Peter Edgcumbe, who were her eldest brother and sister-in-law. The same source cites Anne as having married Richard Trefusis after the death of Hugh Dowrish, Virginia Blain, Isobel Grundy, and Patricia Clements, *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English: Women Writers From the Middle Ages to the Present* (New Haven: Yale, 1990), 307. The Herald's visitations, however, recorded Anne Edgcumbe's (Dowrish) niece, Ann, the daughter of her brother Piers, as the one who married a Trefusis, *Cornwall*, 142, and 467 (incorrectly numbered 567). William Lake's Trefusis genealogy is unhelpful, because he copied from Vivian's edition of the Herald's visitations, Polsue, 3: 397. The Trefusis family archive, formerly lodged at the CRO, was removed from deposit and is no longer available for research. The fourth Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, from his records, considered Anne Dowrish to be the daughter of Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1561/62), sister of Peter who died in 1607, and that it was their niece, Anne Edgcumbe, who married the Trefusis, *Records of the Edgcumbe Family*, 91. Note: there are many spellings of Dowrish/Dowrich/Dowrich, unless in a direct quote Dowrish as used by Vivian in the Herald's visitations is used in this work. For a history of the family name see G.E. Trease, "Dowrich and the Dowrich Family of Sandford," *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* 33 (1975): 37-38, 70-73, 113-17, 154-55, 208-11.

Anne and Hugh were married in 1580, J.L. Vivian, ed., *The Marriage Licenses of the Diocese of Exeter from the Bishop's Registers*, Part 1 (Exeter: Pollard, 1887), 6. For ancestry chart for Hugh Dowrish see Appendix F page 342.

[159] Anne Dowrich [sic], *The French Historie* (London, 1589; Ann Arbor, Mich: University Microfilms, n.d.), 38. For one scholar's examination of Anne's writings and a view of her as contributing to the "Protestant literary mainstream" in the late sixteenth century see Elaine V. Beilin, *Redeeming Eve: Women*

Her husband, the Reverend Hugh Dowrish, son of an old Devon gentry family also related to the Carews, also published his religious writings. In his long telling of a sinner who was called to repentance, the "Taylors Conversion," Hugh's tone leaves no doubt about his anti 'popish' sentiments.[160] The Edgcumbes and Grenviles who were among that "coalition ... of Protestant gentry" included Anne and Hugh. Whether her religious worldview was reflective of the remainder of her Edgcumbe family is unknown. She dedicated the poem to her eldest brother, Piers Edgcumbe, using both text and an acrostic. Her dedication suggests a significant sibling relationship. Piers was older than Anne and, reputedly, was one of a group of "Puritan" extremists in Elizabeth's reign; thus he may well have been an early influence in the development of her religious sensibilities. Further, in the absence of her father, the influence of Piers, her eldest brother, probably affected her choice of a husband, suggesting that Dowrish's reformist sentiments aligned with Pier's own.

The strong reformist leanings of those Edgcumbe siblings are a stark contrast to the religious worldview of their maternal Tregian family and Lanherne cousins. Similarly, the religious stance of Hugh Dowrish is an interesting comparison with some of his own family connections. His grandfather, Thomas Dowrish, was one of the very few gentry, albeit a minor one, named among the rebels captured and taken to London in 1549. As with Anne's uncle, Sir Thomas Pomeroy, her husband's grandfather was released at the end of 1549 after severe recognisances were demanded of him. Nothing

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Writers of the English Renaissance (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Elaine V. Beilin, "Writing Public Poetry Humanism and the Woman Writer," *Modern Language Quarterly* 51, 2 (June 1990): 251

[160] Hugh Dowriche [sic], "The Taylors Conversion" (London, 1593; Ann Arbor, Mich: University Microfilms, n.d.). Hugh's opinion is found, for example, when writing of "those which are now blinded with Poperie; and lie yet drunken with the cursed wine of the great whore of Babilon," 20 v.

further is heard of him and he died two years later. In addition, Hugh Dowrish was connected to the rebellion through his brother, Walter, who married Mary Carew, a first cousin of Sir Peter Carew who so violently opposed the rebels.[161]

Anne and Piers were from a different generation than the one that faced the rebellion in 1549. Piers was born about 1534 into the years of turbulent religious change. On their father's death (c.1561), Anne Edgcumbe and her sister, Honor, were still young enough to have bequeathed to them money sufficient "for the funding education & byning up until and before they be married." [162] Thus, Anne grew up with a church vastly different from that of her parents and grandparents.[163] For Anne there was the reality of a reformed church and religion, such as it was. It may be that she had little, if any, memory or experience of traditional religion. It was that community memory that Eamon Duffy argued was so crucial to continuity in traditional religion.[164] Little or no memory of those traditions, an educated and enquiring mind, and a husband at the forefront of the new preaching ministry would all have been a tremendous influence on her. Were the Edgcumbe sister and brother representative of their family's religious commitment? Perhaps in the 1580s, but not in 1549. That year and its turbulent events were a mere three decades earlier, but a world away in terms of continuity of traditional religious beliefs and practices. They were different times and different people.

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[161] Rose-Troup, 355, 498; Vivian, *Devon*, 135, 289-90; Trease, 155, 210. The Dowrishs were an ancient family who may well have held their Devon lands since c.1215, Trease, 37. Although the Dowrish family home was close to Exeter, Thomas Dowrish also owned lands near Plymouth, the centre of Edgcumbe country.

[162] Richard Eggcomb, Inquisition post mortem, 4 May 1562, ME/961/25, CRO.

[163] There is no apparent record of when her mother, Elizabeth Tregian died, although she may have been alive still in 1554. A deed of that date includes "Lady Elizabeth Eggecombe," sister of John Tregian the husband of Katherine Arundell of Lanherne, as the benefactor of income from certain Tregian manors, Sir Ric. Eggecombe, and John Tregyan, Grant, 1 March 1554, ME 719, CRO.

[164] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 593.

According to Richard Carew, his uncle, Piers Edgcumbe, "addicted himself too much" by trying to make a great fortune by being adventurous with mining investments.[165] Motivation for economic gain and imprudence, perhaps, were a little too strong in Piers. Those characteristics might have contributed to his conflict with the Privy Council in 1575 when he and wife, Margaret, retained "grete spoiles" of "goodes and merchandizes" after a storm in the Channel caused Spanish shipping to be wrecked on the shore abutting Mount Edgcumbe.[166] After refusing to hand over the wrecked goods, the Council ordered Piers "not onlye to make deliverie of the said goodes, but also to make his personall apparaunce befor their Lordships with as convenient spede as he may to answer to the contempt."[167] It is not difficult, when thinking of Piers, to compare him with his cousin, Humphrey Arundell, and his uncle, Sir Thomas Pomeroy, the Cornish and Devon leaders of the 1549 rebellion, and even with another cousin, Sir Peter Carew, whose motivations for their actions in rebellious situations, undoubtedly, were complex.[168] Of Arundell, Pomeroy, and Carew, only one did not survive his rebellious challenge to the Crown.[169] Humphrey Arundell paid for his challenge with his life, a penalty, possibly, that had more to do with his blood than with his actions.

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[165] Halliday, 16.

[166] *APC*, 9: 27-28.

[167] *APC*, 9:42.

[168] Cooper considered that Arundell's involvement in the rebellion was the result of a "mixture of family pride, family piety, a sense of being excluded from local affairs, and local pressure." I am grateful to Dr Cooper for sharing his views with me, John Cooper to Pamela Stanton, e-mail message, 15 October 2002. See also Dr. Cooper's forthcoming essay on Humphrey Arundell in the *ODNB*.

Piers Edgcumbe was a very different man than his father, Richard, grandfather, Piers, and great grandfather, Richard. Despite the turmoil of the reigns in which they lived, none conflicted with the regime. Quite the contrary, the service of all three men to the Crown formed the basis of the elite status earned by the Edgcumbe family that culminated in an earldom in a later century. The first Sir Richard was Henry VII's closest advisor and died abroad in the service of his monarch. In thanks to God for his deliverance from death during the turmoil that placed the Tudors on the throne of England, Richard reputedly founded the chapel at his Cotehele manor house. His will, written "the Friday before sent John Baptist day [June 24] the iijd yere of the Reigne of King Henry the viith [1487]," expressed the expected contemporary level of piety and spiritual devotion.[170] His eldest son, Piers, was forced to deal with the dramatic religious changes in the decade before his death. He, like many of his contemporaries, was equally circumspect about the changes implemented in that decade.

The difficulty of separating the threads of inner religious devotion from loyalty to the Crown and from desire to maintain and advance the family's status is evident in some documents written by Sir Piers Edgcumbe. During a lifetime of service as a local governor, Sir Piers dutifully reported on the King's command "any grugge or myscontentacyon a mongge hys soiectes" in Devon and Cornwall during the turbulent government imposed changes in the 1530s.[171] In 1539, shortly before his death, Edgcumbe wrote again to Cromwell in response to the order for the keeping of parish registers:

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[169] Arundell and Pomeroy led the rebellion in the southwest during the reign of Edward VI and Carew was prominent among those men planning a rebellion during the reign of Queen Mary.

[170] *Records of the Edgcumbe Family*, 47-48.

> I shulkde ther of advertyse ywr lordeshyp by my wrytynge. Hyt ys now comme to my knolegge this xx.th daye of Apryll by a ryght trew honest man, a servaunt of myn, that ther ys moche secrett and severall communycacyons a mongges the kyngges soiettes, and that many of them in sundry places with in the sheres of Cornwall and Devonsher be in greate fear, and mystrust what the kyngges hychnes and hys conseyll shulde mean, to geve in commaundement to the parsons and vycers of every parishe that they shulde make a booke, and surely to be kept, wher in to be specyfyyd the namys of as many as be weddyd, and the namys of them that be buryyd, and of all thoes that be crystynyd ... What ys to be don to avoyde ther unserteyn coniectures, and to contynue and stablyse ther hartes in trew naturall loff accordynge ther dewties, I referre to ywr wysdom. Ther mystrust ys that somme charges, more than hath byn in tymys pst, shall growe to theym by this occacyon of regestrynge of thes thyngges. Wher in yf hyt shall please the kyngges maieste, to put them yowte of dowte....
>
> P. Eggecomb.[172]

Edgcumbe was obviously greatly concerned about the reaction to Cromwell's order but, outwardly, only from the secular perspective of the risk to local security and stability. As a member of the social group responsible for the daily governance of local law and order, his concern is understandable.

Piers Edgcumbe was concerned with pragmatic questions of family economics and social order. Few people concerned themselves with questions of theology on a daily basis, particularly not in documents directed to Thomas Cromwell. Edgcumbe knew as well as his contemporaries the high price to be paid for challenging the regime's policies.[173] Until his death, there is no evidence to suggest that he did make any challenge. His loyalty was recognized in his appointment in 1539 to the Council of the West, and after his death with his widow's summons to Court to serve in the household of the new Queen, Ann of Cleves. Nonetheless, Piers left his will to serve after his death as a challenge to royal policies that were changing religious practices. Compared, for example, to the wills of Sir Thomas Arundell (died c.1485-1488) and Lady Elizabeth Arundell of Lanherne (d.1564), Sir Piers' spiritual directions, charitable bequests, and gifts to his servants were extremely generous.[174] His generosity extended also to his widow "Dame Katheryn" even if she remarried. In addition, Piers made provision not only for his own sons and daughter but also for his stepdaughter, Mary Griffith, the daughter of Lady Katherine from her first marriage. Some of the bequests to Richard, the Edgcumbe heir, were made with the proviso that he "should never trouble or vex Kateryn about lands given to her in jointure." In addition, Sir Piers appointed as his executors "Dame Katryn & Richard (if the latter should be conformable [to?] the will)." Any breach of this undertaking and Dame Katheryn would become sole executrix.[175]

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[171] Hugh Peskett, *Guide to the Parish and Non-Parochial Registers of Devon and Cornwall 1538-1837*, Devon & Cornwall Record Society Extra Series, Vol. 11 (Exeter: Devon & Cornwall Record Society, 1979), ii, viii, xxx.

[172] Ibid.

The will's preamble is traditional, according to categorization made by historians such as A.G. Dickens, and there is no disputing the terminology. Death was not unexpected at his age, for he was almost seventy when he died. Thus, if he was not committed to traditional religion he had the opportunity and ability to change the wording in his will before his death. His concern with the endurance of Edgcumbe family fortunes is evident in his request to Cromwell for continued income from dissolved religious houses. It is unlikely that he would jeopardise the family's survival with an imprudently written will. Yet, by leaving such a document he made a highly visible statement about himself and his family at a time when, depending on the direction of government policy, he might have severely jeopardised the continued successful existence of the family and its fortunes.

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[173] Why Tudor gentlemen became involved in rebellion is a fascinating topic relatively unexplored by historians. Realistically, the risk was enormous. By their involvement, they always jeopardized not only their lives but also the future survival of their families.

[174] Sir Thomas Arundell, Will, 3 October 1485, AD 37/50/14-16; AR 21/15/1,2, CRO.

[175] Sir Pers Eggecombe, Will, 3 March 1530, 745/46, WDRO.

The extent and intensity of Sir Piers' religious instructions, the clear trust he placed in his wife, and the protection he sought for her after his death all suggest that Dame Katherine was equally committed to traditional religion. A spouse looking favourably at profound religious change was unlikely to be an ideal guardian of Pier's spiritual and temporal wishes. The protection written into his will for his widow might suggest that Sir Piers had concerns about Richard's treatment of his stepmother. By extension, with a preference for religious change Richard might well have challenged Lady Katherine's position in the family and as executrix, and his father's wishes about traditional religious practices. However, there is no evidence to suggest that Sir Piers had cause to be concerned.

Richard was not a minor when his father died in 1539; he was about forty years old.[176] His death some seven or eight years or so after the death of his stepmother left few years when he was in sole charge of the Edgcumbe patrimony. There is no evidence of ill feeling between Sir Richard and his stepmother. In fact, quite the contrary if an Edgcumbe and Lutterell marriage may be taken as evidence and a comment by Lord Russell may be considered to refer to Lady Katherine. Widows had been arranging marriages for their children long before the sixteenth century, for by the thirteenth century Henry II recognized their right to control their children's marriages.[177] The marriage negotiated by Lady Katherine with Dame Lutterell was between Mary Rys, daughter of Katherine's first marriage, and the Lutterell heir, John.[178] His sister, Margaret Lutterell, eventually married Piers, grandson of Katherine's late husband, Sir Piers, and heir to his father Sir Richard Edgcumbe, Katherine's stepson. The two marriages reflect good relationships between the two families. This situation also suggests good relations between Lady Katherine, whose daughter was married to the head of the Lutterell family, and her stepson, Sir Richard Edgcumbe, whose son and heir was married to the sister of John Lutterell. It is hard to imagine that Sir Richard supported the marriage of his heir with the daughter of a woman for whom he felt no kindness. Further evidence of a positive relationship between Richard and his stepmother is suggested in a document dated October 22, 1539. At that time Lord Russell, President of the Council of the West, recommended Sir Richard to the Lord Privy Seal, Thomas Cromwell, as Edgcumbe was

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[176] Dating Sir Richard's birth (as well as his death) is problematic, however, *Records of the Edgcumbe Family,* shows he was forty when his father died, 81. Given that he married Elizabeth Arundell of Lanherne in 1516, a date of c.1500 for his birth is likely correct.

[177] Ward, 39. Another example of the involvement of women in their children's marriages is found in the Edgcumbe's extended family in the seventeenth century. Grace Grenvile of Stowe, wife of Sir Bevil, replied, presumably, to a letter from Mary Arundell of Trerice (only Grace's letter survived, at least for Granville to reproduce) who asked for Grace's opinion regarding the match of the Arundells' daughter, Ann, with Charles Trevanion. Lady Grenvile's response covered all the important factors when considering a marriage alliance:

> We cannott thinke that the west of England can afforde you a better or more convenient motion then this of Mr Tre:[vanion] The family is noble, the estate greate, the young gent of good disposition, and that wch in my opinion is not least considerable, is the neerelesse of his habitation wherbyeyou shall still have at hand the Comfort of so deserving a child as your worthy daughter,"

Granville, 186.

Charles Trevanion, probably, was John Trevanion who married Anne Arundell of Trerice (d.1701) in 1630. John's great great great grandmother was Agnes (Anne) Edgcumbe, a sister of Sir Piers (d.1539), who married Sir William Trevanion (d.1518). After John's death in 1643, Anne Arundell married Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1701), Vivian, *Cornwall*, 141, 501-502.

[178] Vivian, *Devon*, 539.

seeking the transfer of his family estates to himself after his father's death. He "has honestly declared himself," said Russell, "touching the lady, his mother-in-law, and his father's will."[179] Presumably, Russell considered Richard to have met the requirements of the will, in terms of the son not having veered from or contested his father's wishes, particularly with respect to Lady Katherine. Edgcumbe's attempt to provide protection for his widow suggests overt prudence and sensitivity to the problems that widows could experience when faced with heirs and stepchildren.

Sir Piers' prudence and astuteness in matters of government and family is important to recognize given both the traditionalism reflected in his will and government recognition of his life's service and the importance of the Edgcumbe family. The latter is acknowledged in each of two events that occurred the year he died, one some months before and the other immediately after his death. The involvement of an Edgcumbe in both events raises the issue of the connection between religious sensibilities and government appointments. In early 1539, the Council of the West was established to govern the four southwestern counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. The rationale for the existence of the Council is a point of contention for some historians; did it result from either the countrywide plan of government implemented by Cromwell, or from the inherent rebelliousness of the region and imminent crisis because of the execution of Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter? The latter explanations are invalid because the region was not inherently rebellious and there is no evidence to show that Devon, in particular, was poised to rise in rebellion as a result of Courtenay's execution.[180] The idea of Cromwell's countrywide control of local government, generally, and via the Council in the West, specifically, set two historians at odds with each other. M.L. Robertson took an Eltonian position arguing for Cromwell's management of the area using local governors, while H.M. Speight adopted an opposing stance promoting local government entrenched in traditional local power structures.[181]

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[179] *L&P,* 14, pt.2, 371. The context of Russell's comment suggests he was referring to Sir Richard's stepmother.

The men appointed to the Council all had intimate knowledge of the region, and were able to command immediate respect by virtue of their social interconnectedness, ancestral residency, and economic and political significance. In short, they were the most powerful men in the region and could command men at arms at a moment's notice. Consequently, they were able to act quickly and effectively in a crisis such as threat of invasion, which was a significant concern in 1539. Above all, Cromwell noted, they had to be men "the king can best trust."[182] The men included Sir Piers Edgcumbe, and his eldest son's father-in-law, Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, and his son, Sir Thomas, who was very prominent at Court.[183] Religious conservatives would hardly seem to be Cromwell's choice of appointments. However, Edgcumbe's appointment to the Council, as with those of his Arundell relatives, did not necessarily reflect his support of religious change.[184] Both Cromwell and the King knew who had power in the southwest and, one or both of them, had confidence in the men's loyalty. The Council dealt with the daily operation of the region and emergent situations, and among the government's instructions were many that dealt with enacting the laws dealing with the break with Rome.[185] Thus, were they appointed because of their support of government policies, or because of the power and influence they represented in the area regardless of their stance on the regime's policies? No doubt, the government hedged its bets in that area, but also ensured it had powerful men who knew the region well.[186]

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[180] Cooper makes this point, "Propaganda, allegiance and sedition," [n.p.] 93.

[181] See, for example, Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 91 & 241; Youings, "Council of the West"; Elton, *Reform & Reformation*, 281; Robertson, "The art of the possible:" 793-816; H.M. Speight, "'The Politics of Good Governance'; Thomas Cromwell and the Government of the Southwest of England," *The Historical Journal*, 37, 3 (1994): 623-38; M.L. Robertson, "A Reply to Helen Speight," *The Historical Journal*, 37, 3 (1994): 639-41.

[182] Youings, "Council of the West," 49.

[183] Ibid., 50.

One reason for challenging the idea that Richard Edgcumbe was allied with Thomas Cromwell in support of religious change lies in Richard's marriages.[187] His first marriage was to Elizabeth Arundell of Lanherne, daughter of Sir John and his first wife, Eleanor Grey. In the decade in which his father was appointed to the Council of the West,

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[184] By allying the Edgcumbe father and son with Thomas Cromwell, Ian Arthurson identified both men as supporters of religious change. The appointment by Cromwell of Sir Piers to the Council of the West, said Arthurson, made Richard "part of Thomas Cromwell's affinity ... by association," Arthurson, 78.

[185] Youings, "Council of the West," 44, 50.

[186] Youings discussed the vagueness of the record surrounding the Council, which encompassed the far southwestern counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. The rationale for its establishment remains open to debate. Elton suggested that Thomas Cromwell's concerns about local government specifically in the southwest prompted him to establish the Council. Youings maintained that the southwest was not singled out, rather the Council was just the first step in the establishment of a network of bureaucratic institutions that Cromwell planned would eventually cover the country. In this context, the uniqueness of the southwest is a moot point. Elton, *Reform & Reformation,* 281; Youings, "Council of the West," 41-42, 59.

[187] The number of Sir Richard's marriages is difficult to determine. The fourth Earl of Mount Edgcumbe claimed his ancestor had three wives: Elizabeth Arundell of Lanherne, Winifred Essex, and Elizabeth Tregian, *Records of the Edgcumbe Family,* 81. Vivian's edition of the Herald's visitations recorded marriages for Richard only to Essex and Tregian, *Cornwall,* 142. Alsager Vian recorded two marriages, those to Arundell and Essex, *DNB,* s.v. "Edgcumbe or Edgcumbe, Sir Richard (1499-1562)." Richard Carew noted only that "Sir Richard," his grandfather, "married the daughter of Tregian," *Survey,* 100v. Vian wrote that Essex was the mother of Sir Richard's eight children, while the Herald's visitations recorded their mother as Tregian. The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe claimed that there "can be no doubt" Tregian was the mother of the heir, Peter, "and probably of all his [Sir Richard's] other children." The Earl had a document dated 1535 relating Sir Richard and Elizabeth Tregian's marriage. A similar document with the same date is in the CRO, Peter and Rich, Eggecomb, Marriage settlement, 18 September 1535, ME 826. Based on this evidence, Sir Richard, probably, married three times, however, nothing is known about Winifred Essex.

Richard Edgcumbe married Elizabeth Tregian. Both women were from families who remained devoted to traditional religion throughout and beyond the sixteenth century. The Tregians, like their Lanherne cousins, had family members charged as recusants in the later sixteenth century, one of whom garnered a notorious reputation as a "malicious and practising papist against Queen and state."[188] After the purge of Cornish Catholics in 1577 and his arrest by the Sheriff, Sir Richard Grenvile, Francis Tregian, the son of Katherine Arundell of Lanherne, was imprisoned until 1601, when he was released and permitted to live in London.[189] In 1603, he travelled to the Continent, and spent the remainder of his life living in Spain on a pension granted from Philip III. Tregian died and was buried as a confessor of the faith in Lisbon in 1608.[190]

There is no doubt of the alliance by marriage of the Edgcumbe family with both the Arundells of Lanherne and the Tregians. The Edgcumbe and Tregian marriage is documented, and the fourth Earl of Mount Edgcumbe recorded in the late nineteenth century that he owned a document proving the marriage between Sir Richard and Elizabeth Arundell of Lanherne in 1516. At that time, not only did Richard marry Elizabeth Arundell, but also his sister, Mary, married the heir of Lanherne, John Arundell (d.1557).[191] The marriages of the Edgcumbe and Lanherne siblings took place a decade and a half before the beginning of legislated changes to religion in England. Thus, these alliances in 1516 between two highly prominent and wealthy southwest families appear to need little comment. However, it is important to follow this thread of connection because of the supposed religious commitments of the respective people and their relationship with the 1549 rebellion as local governors of law and order.

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[188] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 374.

[189] Katherine Arundell was the daughter of Sir John of Lanherne (d.1557) and his wife, Elizabeth Danet. Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4-5. The story of Francis Tregian is found in John Morris, S.J., ed., *The troubles of our Catholic forefathers related by themselves*, vol. 1 (London: Burns and Oates, 1872; Farnborough: Gregg, 1970).

[190] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 374.

[191] ME 719; ME 826; *Records of the Edgcumbe Family*, 81. There is no longer any evidence that document referred to by the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, "MSS. Vol. 1 p.58," still exists. It was dated April 16, 1516. Therein, "Rich. Huntyndon, Vicar of Plymouth, certifies he has published banns between John Arundell, son and heir of Sir John Arundell ... and Mary Eggecombe, daughter of Sir Peter Eggecombe and also

Like their relatives, the Edgcumbe family had an illustrious history of deep devotion to the Tudor Crown. Sir Richard (d.1561/62) maintained that tradition by raising the militia in Plymouth in 1548 and riding with it across Cornwall to quell the riots at Helston after the murder of William Body. A few short months later, however, there is no record of any form of involvement by Richard, or any person bearing the Edgcumbe name, at any point in the rebellious events that occurred in Devon and Cornwall. The absence of an individual from the events might be explicable, for example, by either absence from the region or illness. However, the uprising took place over a period of four months. While the events in the summer of 1549 are less than perfectly recorded, it is surprising that the Edgcumbe name is nowhere to be found.

The answer to his absence may lie not in an aberration of the moment, but rather in the deeper familial connections that existed in his extended family. People could, and did, find the family to be a refuge in times of crisis.[192] Sir Richard had a direct connection to the Devon leader of the rebellion, Sir Thomas Pomeroy, who was married to his sister,

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between Richard Eggecombe, son and heir of Sir Peter and Elizabeth Arundell, daughter of Sir John." Vivian, *Cornwall*, 4, and 142, also recorded the Edgcumbe and John Arundell marriage.

The disappearance of the record of the marriage of the Edgcumbe heir with Elizabeth Arundell of Lanherne, is another example of the losses incurred as a result of the 1941 bombing of Mount Edgcumbe House. Situated on the Cornish side of the River Tamar, the house was almost opposite the Royal Naval Dockyard at Devonport, which was a prime target during the blitz of Plymouth during the Second World War.

[192] See Durston, following George Duby, 7.

Jane Edgcumbe.[193] Religious change must have been a topic of conversation in the family group for decades before 1549. In addition, everyone recognized that any challenge to the government not only publicly announced religious commitment but also threatened the very existence of individuals and families. Absence from a usual role as a local governor at a time of crisis raised serious questions about loyalty to the government and its policies. Consequently, familial political, economic, and social status was compromised.

When Richard Edgcumbe married, he allied his family not once but twice with families that retained their commitment to traditional religion throughout the century. Richard married first Elizabeth Arundell of Lanherne, the date of whose death is unknown, and there is no record of any children. Elizabeth's father, Sir John Arundell, wrote his will and died in 1545, and her husband, Sir Richard Edgcumbe, is named in both the will and the Inquisition post mortem held after the death of Sir John. He assigned to his son Thomas, his brother Humphrey, and Edgcumbe "the disposition of his lands in Devon & in other counties." [194] By the time Sir John wrote his will, religious change had caused turmoil in the country including rebellion in the north in 1536 and 1537. In addition, his daughter, who had married Edgcumbe, may have been dead for a decade or even longer. Therefore, it is instructive that Sir John would name his Edgcumbe son-in-law in his will. Richard may have shown no inclination to support religious change, thereby retaining the affection of Sir John, or Arundell could not conceptualize the severity of what was happening to the Church in England, or it was less important to him than other considerations. The former suggestion has considerable merit, because of the marriage made by Richard into the Tregian family, who were also related to the Arundells of Lanherne.

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[193] Vivian, *Cornwall*, 142.

[194] John Arundell of Lanherne, Inquisition post mortem, 5 November 1545, AR 21/12/1, CRO; Arundell, John, knt., Ser. II. Vol. 73 (18), 5 November 1545, Devon, IPM, WSL.

Sir Richard Edgcumbe's marriage to Elizabeth Tregian took place sometime in the early to mid-1530s, at the height of the first decade of religious change in England.[195] Richard was the Edgcumbe heir so his parents probably were involved in the marriage decision. That alliance with the Tregian family does not suggest a man, or a family, preparing or ready to compromise either the significant status of the Edgcumbe family or their religious commitment. When Richard married Elizabeth Tregian, he had no heir. Thus, he entered into an alliance with Elizabeth's family knowing that any Edgcumbe heirs from the marriage would inherit, if not adopt, the traditional religious culture of the Tregians. Was that a troubling prospect for a prominent family, given the uncertain religious and political climate of the times? No one could foresee the turmoil that followed in England because of the changes to religion in the 1530s and after. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that marriage alliances were still made in that decade, at least, with traditional considerations and motivations of political and economic power. The picture becomes more complex with the examination of one proposed marriage alliance of the Arundells of Lanherne. The marriage concerned Jane Arundell, daughter of Sir John (d.1545), and his first wife, Eleanor Grey. In the mid-1530s, Thomas Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal, approached Sir John's son, Thomas, at Greenwich with a proposal for a marriage between his only son, Gregory, and Thomas's sister, Jane Arundell.[196] The proposal clearly reflects the importance attached to the Arundell family by Cromwell. His thinking makes sense given the connections the Lanherne family had with the royal family, its ancient lineage, its landed wealth, and its local importance in a strategically vital area of England. R.B. Merriman suggested that Cromwell intended to found a noble house through the marriage of his son. His two daughters, probably, had died at an early age, thus leaving only Gregory to fulfil his father's dream.[197]

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[195] *Records of the Edgcumbe Family*, 81. Sir Richard and Elizabeth Tregian's eldest son, Peter, was born in 1536. The Earl had a document concerning their marriage settlement dated 1535. It is reasonable to assume they were married c.1535.

Two letters from Thomas Arundell to his father, Sir John (presumably at home in Cornwall) on the subject of the proposed marriage survive. The second has a date of January 24, and the contents of both letters suggest that one was written very late in 1536 and the January letter in early 1537. For example, the first refers to events in the north (the Pilgrimage of Grace), which "some believe ... will not be pacified."[198] The second states "thankes be to god that ther cume dayly good tydyngs from the north," and soon everything will be pacified.[199] These comments plus other unrelated statements suggest the time when the letters were written. Despite severe criticism over the northern

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[196] Thomas Arundell, to Arundell, n.d., AR 25/9, Thomas Arundell, to Sir John Arundell, n.d., AR 25/10; CRO; *DNB*, s.v. "Cromwell, Thomas," by James Gairdner.

[197] Merriman, 1: 54, 145. Based on the fact that the bequests to Cromwell's daughters, Anne and Grace, and their names are crossed out in his will some time after it was written in 1529, Merriman made the reasonable assumption that the two girls died. The question of Cromwell having a grand design to found a noble house in his name can be linked to the issue of his level of control in government. This question as it is relevant to the southwest is interesting especially given the 1994 debate in *The Historical Journal* between Speight and M. L. Robertson. See previous pages 214-15 this chapter.

Adding further support to the idea that Cromwell was intent on founding a noble house is the fact that his nephew, Richard, changed his surname to Cromwell. Why Richard changed his name is unknown. It could have been an attempt by both uncle and nephew to provide Cromwell with an adopted son who did not have the limitations supposedly inherent in the natural son, Gregory. Richard's change of name and his apparent close relationship to his uncle, suggests that Cromwell attempted to double his chances at founding a noble line. Merriman, 1: 53; *DNB*, "Cromwell." Richard did marry into a southwestern family and allied himself, by accident or design, with the Edgcumbes and, thus, the Arundells of Lanherne. Richard married Frances Dennis, a daughter of Sir Thomas Dennis of Holcombe in Devon. Frances was a third cousin of Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1561/62) whose first wife, Elizabeth, was a sister of Jane Arundell to whom Thomas Cromwell tried to marry his son, Gregory. Vivian, *Devon*, 141, 279-80.

[198] AR 25/9, CRO.

[199] AR 25/10, CRO.

rebellion, Cromwell remained sufficiently confident in his own position at Court to propose the Arundell marriage. Alternatively, perhaps he was consolidating his position with the King by allying himself to noble families in the face of mounting criticism. Jane Arundell did not marry Gregory Cromwell, but any refusal by the Arundells did not prevent Cromwell from pursuing a match for his son. Cromwell's eyes remained on the southwest, for Gregory married a Devon Seymour, Elizabeth, sister of Queen Jane.[200] By that marriage, Gregory became an uncle of Edward VI. Cromwell's pursuit of the Seymour marriage also reflects the prominence of the Arundell family.

The proposed Cromwell-Arundell alliance suggests two scenarios. Either Cromwell did not consider the Arundells of Lanherne to be intransigent religious traditionalists, or religious commitment was not a consideration for him in 1536. The latter is hard to believe, given that the middle of the decade saw the height of religious change, of which he was, at least, one architect. What Cromwell's action suggests is not only the importance of the Lanherne family, but also the ambiguity of Cromwell's role in religious change in the country. Cromwell recognized a good marriage alliance when he saw it. Further, the religious traditionalism of the Lanherne Arundells was not so different from many of their familial peers, and had not in any way compromised their loyalty to the Crown.

The Arundells of Lanherne were not isolated by religious traditionalism. Rather, the Cromwell marriage proposal reveals that the Lanherne family were among the most important families in England. Further, the picture emerging suggests that the political complexity of life was what caused problems for the Arundells rather than their devotion to traditional religion, a factor that could always be used against them depending on the whims of the central government. Developing a picture that clearly shows the southwest family group as closely tied by bonds of religion would be very satisfying but that is not possible because the evidence is lacking. Nonetheless, they were tied by a shared and inherited culture of which religion was a significant part. Those bonds contributed to those that held the families together, particularly at a time of crisis. Catastrophic disunity was not an option for this family group. Disaffection in religion could not be an element in creating a "deep division" because of the strength of their shared and inherited culture and their willingness to accommodate change. The people in England, generally, were bound by a shared fellowship in Christ and the medieval Christian tradition. In examining how some gentry families survived as families in the Civil War, Christopher Durston concluded that traditional culture defeated the Interregnum.[201] Religion was a significant part of that traditional culture and as Susan Brigden remarked, "faith might bind citizenry as nothing else could."[202] The emphasis, perhaps, should be on the "might."

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[200] *DNB*, "Cromwell"; Vivian, *Devon*, 279-80. Gregory Cromwell, described as "a dull and plodding lad," may not have appealed to Jane Arundell as a prospective husband; Merriman, 1: 53; *DNB*, "Cromwell."

That bond held Sir Richard Edgcumbe in the affection of his father-in-law, Sir John Arundell, until his death. Richard, like John Arundell (d.1557), his brother-in-law and Sir John's heir, also served Queen Mary but not only as a local governor. Given that Richard was supposedly allied with Thomas Cromwell in support of religious change in England, the Queen placed unusual trust in him. According to Edgcumbe's grandson,

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Whatever the problem was with Gregory it did not prevent his marriage with Elizabeth Seymour.

[201] Durston, 173-74. Durston was arguing that "the institution of the family" was a "deeply rooted, all-pervasive and resilient" aspect of "the traditional culture of English society" and, as such, was the most powerful and hostile of the "many enemies which confronted the governments of Interregnum England during the 1650s." In this thesis it is argued that not only was a specific family group shaped by their shared and inherited traditional culture, but also that their religious beliefs and practices were a significant part of that traditional culture.

Richard Carew "during Q. Ma. [Queen Mary's] raigne, [Sir Richard] entertained at one time, for some good space, the Admirals of the English, Spanish, & Netherlands fleets, with many noble men besides."[203] Thomas Fuller commented that the "passage [was] the more remarkable, because" he "was confident that the admirals of those nations never met since (if ever before) amicably at the same table."[204] Possibly, the presence of the admirals was linked with "preparations for the marriage" of the Queen with Philip of Spain.[205] If that were the case, then Sir Richard was of considerable importance in the scheme of royal favour under the 'Catholic' Queen. The mere fact that the Admirals met at Mount Edgcumbe signifies Sir Richard's standing with the government. Evidently, Edgcumbe always kept himself well informed of events at the centre of government by retaining an agent in London. In a letter dated July 7, 1545 and addressed to "Mr. Richard Edgcumb at Stonehouse," one Adam Ralegh gave news of events in London, at Court, and abroad. A bill was enclosed with the letter, and Edgcumbe noted at the bottom that he sent the money on "14th January 1545."[206]

In addition to the evidence in the foregoing discussion, Sir Richard's connections with regional families who remained devoted to traditional religion included the Tremaynes who were noted recusants in the later sixteenth century.[207] His grandmother, Joan Tremayne, was married to Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1489), who was so prominent

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[202] Brigden, "Religion and Social Obligation," 71.

[203] Carew, *Survey*, 100; According to Fuller the gathering of the admirals occurred in 1555, 303.

[204] Fuller, 303.

[205] Brown, *Mount Edgcumbe,* 16.

[206] *Records of the Edgcumbe Family*, 88; *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 21.

in the service of the first Tudor king. Continuity of traditional religion rather than dramatic change is reflected in the evidence surrounding Sir Richard Edgcumbe. Nonetheless, the memories of his grandson, Richard Carew, must also be weighed. Carew wrote with some emotion about his grandfather until he stopped to note that he should not continue writing in such a tone "least a partiall affection steale, at unwares, into my commendation, as one, by my mother, descended fro his loynes, and by my borth, a member of the house."[208] Carew recorded that "Sir Richard was a man learned in both the "Divine and Profane; that is to say, Religion and the Liberal Sciences." His description reflects a well-educated man, skilful in writing, perceptive, and with a ready wit – the latter demonstrated by attributing to him the apothegms "That Ingratus was Latin for a Priest," and "That where the Good-man did beat his Wife, there Cupid would ... his Wings, and fly out of Doors." Carew hesitated to be too bold in his description "Touching his [grandfather's] religion ... I count it a hard matter, for any to judg of another Man's Heart," he said. Yet Carew clearly observed in his grandfather's life enough evidence to convince him Sir Richard "had the Fruits of a good Conscience." "Besides," wrote his grandson, "he kept an Ordinary Chaplain in his House, who daily and duly said Service: And at his Death, he had the grace to call upon God."[209] Far from labelling Sir Richard as an avid supporter of religious change, Carew's comments suggest that as with many people in the early sixteenth century, Sir Richard was aware of a need for reform within the church. Although Edgcumbe had a personal chaplain, he had no illusions concerning the failings of some of the clergy. Carew was not reticent in conveying his pleasure at

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[207] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 346-49.

[208] Carew, *Survey*, 99-100v.

having been a member of Sir Richard's family. Lavish in his compliments of his grandfather, Carew described him as "a gentleman in whom mildnes & stoutnes, diffide[n]ce, & wisdome, deliberatenes of undertaking, and sufficiency of effecting, made a more com[m]endable the[n] blazing mixture of vertue."[210]

Richard Carew served his sovereign well in local government and made his name as an antiquarian in good company with men like William Camden.[211] Challenging government policy on religion was not Carew's style nor, presumably, was it necessary, for he believed in one "discipline" for the "English church." By "discipline," it would seem he meant one set of religious beliefs and practices. He did not tolerate those people "who would thrust upon us their often varying discipline." However, nor did he suffer those who would suppress traditional church activities such as church ales and saints' feasts.[212] Carew, it would seem, was content to follow the Elizabethan via media.

His comments on the "last Cornish rebellion" in 1549 focused only on aspects of order and justice. He condoned the violent retribution exacted on the rebels by the government through their "Provost-marshall of the Kings armie," Sir Anthony Kingston. Carew never condoned rebellion.[213] In this respect, he was far more representative of the Carews than Sir Peter Carew, who acted aggressively against the rebels in 1549 and was amongst the leaders of those who tried to raise a rebellion against the Crown in 1553.

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[209] Prince, 283.

[210] Carew, *Survey*, 100.

[211] While unlike one cousin in this respect, Richard's antiquarian interests were very similar to those of another cousin, Sir George Carew, who was a friend of Robert Cotton and William Camden. Sir George's collection of Carew family related documents are in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace, London.

[212] Carew, *Survey*, 68-70, 82.

Traditional religion was a significant part of their shared and inherited culture, and its continuity was far more evident within the Carew familial web than dysfunction resulting from lack of continuity. Evidence for such continuity is found in Sir Peter Carew's own family, despite the remark of Father Robert Persons, a Jesuit priest referring to the 1553 conspiracy against Queen Mary and involving Peter Carew, that "the Carews" were among "the more hoate [hot] and zealous parte of Protestants."[214] Persons' perception of the Carew's was coloured, no doubt, by being a Jesuit studying Elizabethan England. His remark must not be accepted as applicable to all Carews. Peter's long absence from both the land and county of his birth separated him from Carew family life in the southwest in more than geographical ways.

A.L. Rowse may be the only historian to note that the Carew family did not move en masse to support religious change, an event that he considered "Surprising."[215] He considered only the Carews of Haccombe in Devon to be recusants, based on evidence found in recusant records. Rowse sought clear delineation between 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' and found it, whether between or within family groups, but such a line neither reflects nor serves reality. Sir William Carew, the father of Sir Peter, is not always viewed positively by some historians who considered him to be an ineffectual local governor in whom the regime had little confidence.[216] William began his local government career in Cornwall in 1514 and in Devon a year later, and was active in local

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[213] Ibid., 98v, 112, 124v, 125, 156.

[214] Persons, born 1846 in Somerset, made the comment in his memoirs, Roberto Personio, "A Storie of Domesticall Difficulties," in *Miscellanea II* (1600; London: Catholic Record Society, 1906; reprint ed., London: Wm. Dawson, 1969), 56.

[215] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall,* 369. Rowse subsumed the Carews of Haccombe under the rubric of "Cornish Catholics" when the Haccombe branch was Devonian, a curious error for that historian to make.

government right up until his death c.1536.[217] He was sheriff of Devon in 1513-1514, and was one of the three nominees for the position on seven other occasions between 1522 and 1534.[218] He was appointed to the commissions for Devon from 1522 and for Cornwall from 1523.[219] The claim that Sir William had "a dismal record of office holding for a man of his local standing" is based on his eight nominations for Sheriff but only one appointment, that he was incompetent, and his "open opposition to the religious changes."[220] Those arguments, however, are somewhat subjective. Carew's brother-in-law, Philip Champernowne, for example, was nominated six times and appointed only once despite having a direct line to one of the very best patronage contacts in the country, his son-in-law, Sir Anthony Denny.[221] Until the death of Henry VIII, Denny was the second most important man in the kingdom.[222] Another important man nominated in Devon many times but Sheriff only once before 1549 was Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1561/62).[223] Despite a reputation equally important in both Cornwall and Devon

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[216] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 110.

[217] In Speight's tabulation of "Justices of the Peace for Devon," Sir William is shown as having died in 1535-1536, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 273. In the same role but for Cornwall, he is said to have died in 1539-1540, 261. He died, however in 1536 if not late 1535, John Wagner, *The Devon Gentleman: A Life of Sir Peter Carew* (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1998); 51, 61.

[218] Under "Justices of the Peace for Devon," Speight shows Sir William as Sheriff also in 1520-1521. However, according to Appendix F in Speight, "The Sheriff's Rolls for Devon," Sir William was Sheriff only in 1513-1514, Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 270, 292-93.

[219] Ibid., 257, 270, 273.

[220] Ibid., 110.

[221] Ibid., 106.

[222] Elton portrayed Sir Anthony Denny as the most important man in the kingdom prior to the death of Henry VIII, *Reform and Reformation*, 301, 329-30.

[223] Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 106; Bindoff, 2: 83. Edgcumbe was Sheriff of Devon in 1543, *Lists and Indexes No. 9*, 36.

before 1549, he was not nominated as sheriff for Cornwall. After 1549, even given his considerable local and national reputation, he was sheriff only once in each county.[224]

When disturbances occurred in Devon in 1514 when William Carew was sheriff, he was not appointed to the commission of enquiry. That his omission was the result of incompetence in dealing with the disturbances is questionable. Carew may well have been preoccupied at that time, and for the remainder of his life, with serious financial problems. His father, Sir Edmund Carew, killed only months before with the royal army in France, left his heir and his family for generations burdened with overwhelming debt.[225] To attribute William's lack of further appointment as sheriff and his omission from the Commission of the Peace in 1536 to the resistance of the Carews of Mohun's Ottery to religious change in the 1530s does not withstand scrutiny.[226]

Sir William and his brother, Thomas, engaged in what Youings described as the almost sole "active opposition among Devonshire gentry to the Reformation Settlement. Only the Carews," she wrote, "appear to have carried their resistance to any, let alone dangerous lengths."[227] Youings' charge against the Carew brothers is noteworthy, given that the traditional picture of southwestern gentry opposition to religious change is purported to have come from the Arundells of Lanherne. In 1533, William and Thomas Carew, allegedly, protected a priest from arrest, and a year later, according to John

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[224] *Lists and Indexes No. 9,* 22 and 36; Bindoff, 2: 83.

[225] Sir Edmund mortgaged Carew estates and borrowed from the Crown in order to go to France with the King's army where he was killed in the siege of Therouanne. Wagner, 20-24, 51-52; Stanton, "Carew, Sir Edmund," *ODNB.*

[226] J.A. Youings, "The Disposal of Monastic Property in Land in the County of Devon with Special Reference to the Period 1536-58" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1951), 36.

[227] Ibid., 36-37.

Hooker, Thomas called Hugh Latimer a heretic.[228] Also, in 1533, "Sir George Carew and his brother" and "Mrs Katherine Champer, his brother's wife" were named in a group supposedly sympathetic to Elizabeth Barton, known as the Nun of Kent, who prophesied dire retribution for the King resulting from his marriage to Anne Boleyn.[229] The three people are most often identified as George, Sir William's eldest son, and Gawen, Sir William's brother, and Sir William's sister, Katherine Champernowne.[230] However, "Sir George" may have been Sir Williams' brother, for whom the contemporary convention "Sir" was applied as it was to priests.[231] This scenario leaves the identity of his "brother" a mystery, but an error in writing the document (always possible) allows for the man to have been Katherine's husband, John Champernowne, or another of George and Katherine's brothers, William, Thomas, or Gawen.[232] Whichever George Carew was named, uncle or nephew, the incident did them no harm. The elder George Carew later became Dean of Exeter and Windsor and Archdeacon of Totnes, and his nephew, Sir George Carew, garnered significant government appointments including that of Vice Admiral before he drowned on the *Mary Rose* in 1545.[233]

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[228] *L&P*, 6: 43; Youings, "The Disposal of Monastic Property," 37. Hugh Latimer was appointed Bishop of Worcester in 1535.

[229] For a comprehensive bibliography of primary and secondary material about Elizabeth Barton see Jansen, 41-75, 164-72.

[230] See, for example, Wagner, 50.

[231] George Carew became a priest in the Diocese of Exeter in 1533, *L & P*, 6, 480. Wagner queried the identity of Sir George Carew, but concluded that it was Sir William Carew's eldest son, 50.

[232] George Carew and his uncle, Gawen, only a couple of years older than George, were both members of the household of Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, in the 1520s. This branch of the Courtenays is seen, traditionally, as intransigent devotees of traditional religion. Thus, given their connection with George and Gawen Carew, the appearance of the two men's names tied to those people sympathetic to the Nun of Kent is possible. See Wagner, 50.

[233] This point is made by Wagner, 50.

Among his appointments, Sir George Carew served at Calais under the Governor, Arthur Lisle, where political dynamics embroiled him and contributed to the execution of Thomas Cromwell and imprisonment of Lord Lisle. Carew served at Calais in 1539 with Sir Richard Grenvile, the Marshal of the town, and both men were thought to be supportive of religious change. Grenvile's commitment to religious change is discussed and challenged earlier in this chapter. George Carew's commitment is based on third party perceptions and his own reports to Cromwell. How much of his revolutionary religious identity resulted from political expediency, given his connection with Cromwell, is unknown. The King's commissioners in Calais reported Carew as supportive of some heretics, and he confessed to eating meat in Lent. Alternative interpretations are possible based on such factors as self-serving politics, self-preservation, and a world not peopled with saints. George Carew was greatly frightened by an enforced visit to the Tower in 1540, likely for interrogation shortly after the incarceration of Lord Lisle, the Governor of Calais.[234] Carew's visible support for religious change is not heard of again, and he regained favour with the government as reflected in his official appointments held until his death. Whether George Carew had the courage of his ideological convictions is unknown. If he did, his experience in the Tower probably drove him even more toward supporting religious change, although Cromwell's downfall may have given Carew pause for thought if his convictions were not firm.

Sir William and Thomas Carew's defence of traditional religion in the 1530s reflects a family far from totally avid in their early support of religious change. The idea of continuity of traditional religion among the Carews is supported further when other family members are identified. At least two of Sir Peter Carew's aunts, Anne and Isabelle, sisters of his father, Sir William Carew, were nuns. Anne was still living in 1565, but how long the sisters were religious is unknown.[235] Rowse refers to some of the Carew family of Haccombe – "Peter and William and even Lady Carew" – who, later in the century, were Catholic recusants and "were in prison for a time."[236] In 1562, the Bishops of London and Ely, Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, reported to the Privy Council that they had examined "the sayer and hearers of the mass at Lady Carewe's house."[237] The list of prisoners in the Fleet [prison] c.1562 cites "My Ladi Carewe" as a prisoner "For hyering of Mass." Later prison lists of 1582 and 1585 certainly show both a Peter and a William Carew incarcerated as a "Mass-hearer" or "Recusant" in "the Marshalsea [prison]."[238] The genealogy of "Carew of Haccombe" records both a Peter and a William Carew as brothers and the dates align with the recusant records. Rowse refers to Lady Carew as of Haccombe; however, that is not stated in the prison lists. However, the date of her incarceration suggests she could have been the mother of the two men.[239] Interestingly, Lady Carew's incarceration as a recusant occurred nearly two decades before any such event in the Arundell family of Lanherne.

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[234] Wagner, 65.

The Carew connections with traditional religion extended into the seventeenth century and, again, they are made through the Mohun's Ottery branch of Sir Peter Carew. His cousin, Sir George Carew, was Master of the Ordnance to Queen Elizabeth, Governor of Guernsey for James I, and created Earl of Totnes by Charles I. George married Joyce Clopton of Warwick, and by so doing, he became uncle to both Cuthbert Clopton, ordained a priest at Rome in 1634, and to four of his wife's nieces who were nuns at Louvain.[240] The religious loyalties of Sir George's wife, Joyce, are unknown.

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[235] Vivian, *Devon*, 135.

[236] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 369.

[237] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury*, pt. 2 (London: HMSO, 1888), 269.

[238] "Official Lists of Prisoners for Religion During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth" in Joseph Gillow, ed., *Miscellanea I* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1905; reprint ed., London: Wm. Dawson, 1969), 49. The Marshalsea prison list also shows a "Peter Carow sent in ... for papistry" during 1578, 70; "Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," *Miscellanea II*, 221, 240.

The 'hot Protestantism' of Sir Peter Carew should not be taken as representative of the Carews. Similarly, Sir Richard Grenvile's traditional reputation as supportive of religious change should neither be taken as representative of the Grenviles nor accurate concerning Sir Richard himself. This questionable religious identity of Sir Richard gains credibility when compared with the reputation of his grandson, Sir Richard Grenvile (d.1591). While lionized by historians as a "Protestant hero" and "staunch Protestant," usually forgotten is a different picture of him in terms of religious commitment.[241] One crisis after another beset the throne during the years surrounding 1570. There was the Northern Rising, pitting regional earls against the Crown, the attempt to marry the Duke of Norfolk to Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Ridolfi plot that planned to depose Queen Elizabeth with the aid of a Spanish army. Implicated in the plot were the Duke of Norfolk, who was executed, and Lord Lumley, both sons-in-law of the Earl of Arundel. The Earl was not exempt from implications in those years, and neither he nor his relatives may be seen as anywhere approaching staunch 'Protestantism;' quite the reverse in terms of their preference for more traditional forms of religion. Nonetheless, there was at the same time "a gentleman belonging to the Earl of Arundel," one "Richard Grenville." That

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[239] Vivian, *Devon*, 144.

[240] J.D. Huddleston, "The Huddleston Obituaries," in *Miscellanea* I, 128.

[241] Haigh, *English Reformations*, 16; Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville;* R. Pearse Chope, "New Light on Sir Richard Grenvile," *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, vol. XLIX (vol. IX 3rd s.) (July 1971): 210-82.

"Grenville," R. Pearse Chope speculated, probably was the "Protestant hero."[242] Labelling in religious terms either Sir Richard Grenvile, grandfather or grandson but, particularly, the former given the Elizabethan religious milieu of the latter, is problematic. Equally, the religious activities of the Arundells of Lanherne do not necessarily reflect those of their close and extended relatives. Not only does this picture lack clarity but also it is very complex. The Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles shared and inherited a culture that included religious beliefs and practices that formed their worldview and structured their daily lives. That culture was neither monolithic nor did it disappear overnight. Rather, those traditions including those of religion and familial relationships continued and because of their longevity and strength enabled the closely interconnected group to better survive the crisis of 1549.

Examining the minutiae of daily life of the family group reveals the complexity of what was thought to be a clear picture of religious commitment. However, just as we understand now that there was far more continuity of traditional religion than dramatic change in terms of "the English Reformation," also we see that clearly delineating the family group is not possible. Rather, there is a highly complex picture in which their shared and inherited culture did not disappear overnight. The nuances of how people accommodated change are elusive and family interests are never monolithic, nonetheless, it is inescapable that decisions by the family about the rebellion had to have been influenced by their complete web of connectedness – blood, marriage, geography, and a shared and inherited culture.

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[242] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury* (1971), 2, 24; Pearse Chope, 214-15

CHAPTER 5

The Exception that Proves the Rule: Sir Peter Carew

Sir Peter Carew, the hero of the traditional accounts of the rebellion of 1549, was the exception in the familial web, both in the actions he took to quell the disturbances and in his singular lack of familial connections. He was the exception that proves the rule. By examining this anomaly, we can interpret the handling of the rebellion by the local governors in light of the powerful and complex picture of familial interconnectedness uncovered in this study. No longer should we focus on how the most prominent people in the region were divided, rather we must examine the continuity and connections.

Sir Peter Carew's involvement in the suppression of the 1549 rebellion in the southwest in the name of religious change is legendary because of John Hooker's account of Peter's life.[1] Sir Peter acquired a reputation as an early and ardent supporter of religious change, a reputation that remains four and a half centuries later.[2] What is particularly noteworthy about Peter Carew's aggressive challenge to the rebels in 1549 is that his behaviour was unique among his peers. Both his presence and his aggressive behaviour as a local governor are of note in comparison with his many cousins, the local governors who, with their relatives, are the focus of this study. His actions show him to be the exception that proves the rule. Unlike the Arundells, the Edgcumbes, the Grenviles and the other Carews, Sir Peter Carew was not entwined in the web of connectedness that comprised his family group. He lacked the close contact with his regional family group that kept them from risking the catastrophic disunity that would have resulted from active fulfilment of their expected roles in suppressing the rebellion.

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[1] Hooker, *Citie of Excester*, and idem, "Life of Sir Peter Carew," lxxxv-cxviii.

[2] Wagner; Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 294.

Despite a shared lineage, Sir Peter Carew lacked the continuity of residential presence and familial contact that existed for the others. He spent the greater part of his life from boyhood outside the borders of both his county and country. The youngest son of Sir William Carew and Joan Courtenay, Peter was a problem child from a very early age, according to his contemporary biographer, so Sir William thought the best thing for Peter was to send him to school. His father took him at the age of twelve to a grammar school at Exeter where he proved to be an incorrigible truant and so difficult to control that his father inflicted on him unusually cruel punishment.[3] School in London followed, where his lack of interest in learning resulted in his being sent as a page to "the French court."[4] There, Peter's original patron badly neglected him, and he was rescued fortuitously by a cousin of his father's, a Carew of Haccombe. A series of patrons followed in whose service Peter became a soldier in the French army sent to Italy. With the Marquis of Salewe, Carew fought at the siege of Pavia and realised, following the Marquis' death, he would be better off on the winning side. So "he getteth himself to the Emperor's camp, and there found such favor that the Prince of Orange fantasied, and received him into his entertainment, and considered him very liberally." After the death of the Prince, Carew remained at the Orange court in the service of "the princess."[5] When Peter decided some years later to return to England, the princess, who was loath to part with him, provided him with an escort of gentlemen and servants, gifts, and letters of introduction and recommendation to both his King and his father. Peter was well received at Court and, journeying to Devon with his entourage, was met with much surprise and joy by his parents who had long presumed him to be dead. Despite a warm reception at Mohun's Ottery, Peter remained there only "a few days" and returned to the Court of Henry VIII.[6] He served the King in a number of capacities both formal and informal. For example, he accompanied Henry to Calais, and later Lord Howard to Scotland to present the Garter to King James. He was among the retinue appointed to escort Anne of Cleves from Calais to her marriage with the King. In addition, "the Kynge hime self beinge miche delited to synge and Sir Peter Carewe havinge a pleasaunte voyce, the Kynge woulde very often use hyme to synge with hime certeyne songes they called *fremen* songs."[7]

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[3] Summoned to Exeter, Sir William had a servant take Peter back to Mohun's Ottery leading "him home ... like a dog." Once home, Peter was "coupled to one of his " father's" hounds, and so continued him for a time." Hooker, "Life of Sir Peter Carew," lxvii-lxviii.

[4] Ibid., lxviii-lxix.

[5] Ibid., lxx; The princess was the Prince of Orange's sister, Claudia of Nassau, Bindoff, 1: 578.

According to John Hooker, Carew's wanderlust eventually caught up with him. The talk of the "wars between the Turk and the King of Hungary ... so pierced the young lusty gentlemen of the court," that Carew and his "kinsman ... also serving in the court, named John Champernowne" left for Constantinople.[8] Hooker depicted Carew and Champernowne as adventurers seeking thrills in foreign lands, which they probably were. The two men spent several months in Constantinople where they might have heard news of Peter's older brother, Philip, reputedly "slain by the Turks" sometime before 1545.[9]

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[6] Hooker, "Life of Sir Peter Carew," lxxii.

[7] Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1954; revised ed. 1959), 769; Hooker, "Life of Sir Peter Carew," lxxxiii.

[8] Ibid., lxx-lxxiv. John Champernowne was Peter's cousin, son of Catherine Carew who was a sister of Sir William Carew, Peter's father. In addition, John's sister-in-law, Mary Norris, by 1545 was the widow of Peter's eldest brother, George Carew. Vivian, *Devon,* 135, 162-63.

After an ignominious departure from the Turkish court, Carew and Champernowne travelled to Budapest, then to Venice where Champernowne died. Carew returned to England and, by Hooker's account, was the toast of the English Court with the stories of his adventures.[10]

In 1543 and 1544, Peter Carew was among the armies sent from England to France, after which he was appointed captain "of one very tall ship" that was ordered among others to be made ready to fend off the French. As part of the navy, Carew was present at Portsmouth in 1545 when the *Mary Rose* keeled over with tremendous loss of life.[11] Among the drowned was Peter's eldest brother, Vice-Admiral Sir George Carew, by whose death Peter became the Carew heir. His responsibility toward the family, according to Hooker, was overridden by his greater sense of duty to his Prince and Carew did not return to the family "home" in Devon.[12] Following his time in the navy, Peter served at both the English and French Courts, where Hooker portrayed him as a great favourite of the French King and of the Dauphin.

At the Inquisition post mortem for his brother, George, in 1546, Peter was proclaimed the legal Carew heir. While the wealth from his newly acquired estates undoubtedly was welcome, the residency at Mohun's Ottery that might have been expected from such an assumption of responsibility seems not to have interested the heir. He was elected to Parliament for Devon constituencies from 1545 and appointed Sheriff

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[9] Ibid., 135.

[10] Hooker, "Life of Sir Peter Carew," lxxiv-lxxvi.

[11] Hooker recorded that 700 men drowned, "Life of Sir Peter Carew, lxxxi. In Bindoff, the loss is said to have been "500 men, all but some 30 of her whole complement," 1: 574. Guy considered that some five hundred men drowned, 191.

[12] Hooker, "Life of Sir Peter Carew," lxxxi-lxxxiii.

of the county in late 1546. Presumably, those official local government positions encouraged him and, to some extent, required him to change his pattern of residency. His modern biographer considered that Carew was drawn frequently to Devon to fulfil his duties during the year of his shrievalty.[13] The evidence to confirm his presence is lacking, however, other than the expectation of the Crown that a Sheriff be in his locale when required. Further evidence of his continued repudiation of his place of birth is reflected in his marriage. In 1547, Carew was "stricken with Cupid's dart" and married Margaret Skypwith. They left London after the marriage to live on his wife's estates in Lincolnshire, from where he rode post haste to Exeter to challenge the rebels in the summer of 1549.[14]

Not only was Peter Carew's path to royal service in England vastly different from that of his cousins in the southwest, but his life experiences were also significantly different. He spent virtually no time in Devon after leaving it as a young boy, and his life on the Continent exposed him to the winds of religious change in a way very different to living in England. Sir Peter Carew's religious convictions can only be surmised, although John Hooker had no problem lauding his patron's religious identity, while ignoring what a modern mind might perceive as the far more crass economic and political motivations for his actions. Nor can Sir Peter Carew's unsuccessful attempt to raise the Devon gentry in rebellion against Queen Mary in 1554 be viewed as solely motivated, if at all, by profound religious beliefs.[15] Rather, he and his fellow conspirators were committed to preventing a foreign power from gaining control of the English government.

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[13] Wagner, 102.

[14] Hooker, "Life of Sir Peter Carew," lxxvi-lxxxvi.

Peter Carew had virtually no support from his regional peers at his birthplace in the abortive rebellion in 1554 or when he faced the early stages of the southwestern rebellion in 1549. This was a man, Hooker claimed, sent into the southwest at top speed by the Crown to defend religious change against the rebels. J.A. Youings showed, however, that no evidence exists showing the government's appointment of Carew to deal with the uprising in the area. Carew and some of the local governors disagreed on the handling of some events, based, at least partly, on his heavy-handedness toward some of the rebels. His lack of official appointment and assumption of the role of local governor hardly endeared him to his county peers.

To most, he must have appeared to be an outsider despite his familial connections with all of them. Carew was the one anomaly in the kinship web, the one family member who did not contribute to relative cohesion in a crisis. He combined active support of religious change and self-serving behaviour to advance himself economically and politically, not a positive contribution to the large family group whose tradition of interconnectedness was put to the test by the events of 1549. This is not to say, of course, that the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles were of one mind. But traditional religion was a significant part of their shared and inherited culture, and its continuity was far more evident within Carew's familial web than dysfunction resulting from lack of continuity. Peter's long absence from both the land and county of his birth separated him from Carew family life and the lives of his cousins in the southwest in more than geographical ways.

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[15] For Wyatt's rebellion see, for example, David Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor* (1979; 1991); Haigh, *English Reformations*, 220-22; Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, 69-81.

Distinguishing true religious passion and devotion from political expediency and self-preservation is a road difficult, if not impossible, to travel except in the rarest of cases. If John Hooker is to be believed, there is no question as to Peter Carew's devotion to religious change. However, Carew was an adventurer, not unlike his younger cousin, Sir Richard Grenvile, and so many other Elizabethan Devon and Cornish buccaneers. Carew's activities in the 1549 rebellion are highly questionable when framed as official activities, and his highhandedness compromised his reputation with the government. The regime was in such crisis that he got away with his recklessness and questionable behaviour, but it is important to note that he did not rally his peers to his cause in either 1549 or in 1554. Sir Peter's modern biographer considered that the Devon local governors in 1554 "were a family" who, despite internal quarrelling, closed ranks to protect a threatened member. What John Wagner was surmising was that Sir Thomas Dennys, an old friend of Sir William Carew, Peter's father, dragged his feet when searching for Peter after the abortive attempt at rebellion against the Queen. Dennys' action, Wagner considered, resulted from a sense of protection toward a local son to prevent his paying for his folly with his life.[16] John Wagner's supposition, probably, is not totally incorrect. However, when, in 1549, Peter Carew armed himself and challenged what was dear and familiar to his Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, and Grenvile cousins and ancestors, they had a defined loyalty to their Carew cousin but they did not know him. He was not dear and familiar to them.

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[16] Wagner, 189-90.

'Dear and familiar' is not a weak term in the context of this closely interconnected family group. Rather, the description goes to the heart of this work, which reflects a complex web of family interconnectedness that made it difficult if not impossible for the gentry group to react in either their accustomed roles or in rebellion in 1549. Their accustomed roles, largely, were their everyday lives. This work, by investigating the reality of those activities, reveals people touching each other in many ways. Often, those ways were intangible, for how measurable are love and affection, anger and dislike? What is often forgotten or dismissed in historical study is the flesh and blood of people, their sensitivities and sensibilities, their loves, their fears, and their beliefs. Those were the qualities that bound together family groups over centuries in good times and in bad.

The familial web that connected the Grenvile sisters was no less a web of loving and significant relationships because historians cannot see into the manor houses, hearts, or minds of the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles. A record of important service at Court by Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne or Sir Peter Carew reflects their lives in a political context, but does not paint the picture of who they were. Similarly, statistical evidence, no matter how informative, tells us little about their daily lives. Daily life consisted of mundane minutiae, whether it was buying food for the table, visiting family, godparenting, managing the manorial estates, writing to brothers-in-law, nephews, and nieces, confessing to the priest, will-making, or hearing testimony as a local justice. All of those activities tended to occur within 'the family' and within the manor house.

Significant parts of the familial web were spousal relationships, for they linked the wider familial groups. Understanding these marriages, marriages within which spouses respected and cared deeply for each other, contributes greatly to understanding how important family connections were and how they were maintained. Wives and husbands such as Honor and Arthur Lisle, Katherine and John Arundell, and Richard and Maude Grenvile shared loving relationships and lives in which, sometimes, onerous responsibilities were bestowed and accepted between the spouses. The future of the prestigious Lanherne family with royal blood was held, at one point, in the hands of a second wife, Katherine Grenvile, whose husband left for France with the royal army. No man of the stature of Sir John Arundell would risk his heritage if he did not have the greatest confidence in and respect for the Grenvile daughter.

An active and practical partnership between wife and husband enhanced the survival of the family, the practicability of household order, and interaction with both extended kin networks and society at large. Linda Levy Peck inferred those partnerships in the Temple extended family group.[17] Her investigation revealed the extent and importance of women in the economic, social, and political daily lives of gentry families in one county, Warwickshire.[18] Anthony Fletcher agreed that "wives mostly were not docile and passive" in marriages, despite the existence of teachings about male authority.[19] Fletcher noted ample evidence from the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century (and earlier) that women ably ran estates and managed family affairs with and in the absence of their husbands.[20]

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[17] Levy Peck.

[18] Ibid., 76.

[19] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale, 1995), 172.

[20] Fletcher, *Gender*, 176-77.

Companionate marriage was already well established, contrary to Lawrence Stone's thesis that affection was non-existent in families before the eighteenth century.[21] The Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, and Grenvile families are examples of much of what Stone claimed did not exist in the lives of gentry families in the sixteenth century. Further, women of the gentry, Stone wrote, lived "idle and frustrated lives ... in the man's world of a great country house." Consequently, "it is hardly surprising that they should have turned in desperation to the comforts of religion."[22] Far from being idle, women like Honor Grenvile, her sister at Lanherne, Katherine, and their niece, Maude Bevill, were capable women who had significant responsibilities associated with their families' lives and the management of their landed estates. They hardly "turned in desperation to the comforts of religion." Their religious beliefs were a part of their shared and inherited culture, as they were for all their family members. Rather than dividing them, that shared tradition enabled them to accommodate and weather the storm of religious change. Significantly, Maude, for example, may have provided a mediating influence on her husband's tendencies toward that change.

Sibling as well as spousal relationships form an important part of family interconnectedness. The Grenvile sisters and their peers did not have advantages of modern medical practices such that childbirth was far more difficult for women and thus for those to whom they were dear. So the presence of beloved sisters provided necessary and welcome comfort at a difficult time. Living half the county away was no deterrent to Katherine Grenvile travelling from her home at Lanherne to her sister Jane's home at

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[21] Wrightson, *English Society*, 91.

[22] Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (London: Oxford, 1965; abridged ed., 1968), 342.

Stowe during their childbearing years. Absence from the country did not prevent Honor Grenvile from sharing in the celebration of the marriage of her Chamond nephew by the gift of venison for the wedding feast. Katherine Grenvile's daughter, Mary Arundell of Lanherne, Countess of Sussex and of Arundel, married sequentially two of the most important men in the kingdom. Consequently, she constantly faced the daily difficulties that resulted from political machinations at Court. Those stresses were heightened during the tumultuous years of religious change. Nonetheless, she found time to assume responsibility at Westminster for her young cousins in the absence of their mother, Honor Grenvile, Mary's aunt. Mary's brother, Sir Thomas Arundell, was an important man at Court, and assisting in marriage negotiations for his sisters was an activity not without its politically astute motivations. However, only the most crass of brothers would facilitate unhappy alliances for his sisters. Beloved children received jewels and clothes bequeathed to them by their mother, Elizabeth Arundell of Lanherne (d.1564). Similarly, the devotion of Elizabeth's sister-in-law, Jane Arundell (d.1574), to her nieces and nephews is reflected in her will.[23] Affection and respect for and confidence in relatives were not confined to blood connections. Sir John Arundell of Lanherne named in his will Sir Richard Edgcumbe, the long-ago husband of Sir John's dead daughter, Elizabeth. Arundell's remembrance suggests affection well beyond a fleeting recognition. On the death of Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne (d.1485) and his wife, Catherine Dinham, Sir Thomas relied on his mother-in-law, Lady Dinham, to manage his affairs and care for his children.

For the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles daily life comprised far more than loving their relatives, whether near or far. Family interests were never monolithic, and reality dictated that the families experienced their share of disagreements. Those differences, however, did not necessarily translate into a 'deep division' as portrayed in the traditional view of the southwest gentry in 1549. Understandably, Sir Richard Grenvile was none too pleased that it was a daughter of Lanherne rather than his own daughter, Margaret, who married the wealthy John Tregian. An injection of monies from the Tregian fortune would have provided much needed relief to Sir Richard's debts. Despite his initial disappointment and, undoubtedly, his frustration, he quickly forgave his daughter for bestowing her affection elsewhere. The idea, as Rowse claimed, that this incident and their conflicting religious views formed the basis for the decades-long feud between the southwest gentry families is far less supportable than the idea that the endurance of their web of connectedness enabled them to accommodate differences and change. If Sir Richard was the hardened religious reformer portrayed by some historians, it is remarkable that he would not have moved heaven and earth to remove his traditionalist uncle, John Grenvile, from his position as parish priest at Kilkhampton. Yes, there must have been dissension and, at times, open argument among the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles. Nonetheless, love, affection, and positive as well as negative daily interaction abounded within this family group. Those factors enhanced the blood, marriages, and shared and inherited culture that held them together in good times and in bad.

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[23] Jane Arundell, Will, PCC 40 Daughtry [1577], PROB 11/59, ff. 294r-v, Public Record Office, London.

The worst of times in the form of serious rioting, murder, and rebellion occurred in 1548 and 1549 in the southwest. In the first of those years, the guardians of law and order fulfilled their usual roles and acted to contain the occurrences; that was not so in the following year. In 1548, they dealt with violent protests in one area against the actions of an unscrupulous man, William Body. By dealing with the disturbances the local governors risked nothing. The following year, however, they risked everything by not dealing with the early disturbances in Cornwall and Devon. Those were not local protests against one unscrupulous irrelevant man. Rather, they were reactions against central government policies that affected everyone. The protests could not be ignored, but by lining up on different sides, however indistinctly, they risked all that was 'dear and familiar.' It would be another hundred years before some of them could take that stand, and then the people and the context were both vastly different. In 1549, these were family groups with centuries of entwinement and shared heritage. They were not disaffected but much bound by their relationships. Unlike in 1548, Sir Richard Edgcumbe did not ride with militia across the county in 1549 to quell the gathering storm. Rather, it was Sir Peter Carew who rode across the whole country to put-down the rebellion. Edgcumbe's absence from the record in 1549 is particularly instructive and encapsulates this story. His sister Jane's husband, Sir Thomas Pomeroy, was prominent at the head of the Devon contingent of the rebels.[24] John Hooker lionized Sir Richard's cousin, Walter Raleigh, for railing against the rebels and their 'popish' practices.[25] Edgcumbe's brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, and cousins at Lanherne were embroiled in both the political battle for survival at the centre of government at London and in watching their namesake, Humphrey Arundell, lead the Cornish rebels. Perhaps Pomeroy and Arundell were headstrong and not possessed of the best judgement, yet their brother-in-law and cousin did not oppose them or any of the family on the battlefield.

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[24] Vivian, *Devon*, 607.

Family relationships are neither easily definable nor easily measured. Their complexity most often is beyond comprehension. A thousand genealogy charts, no matter their completeness, are one-dimensional. They do not reflect the reality of family relationships. Without those charts, however, we cannot begin to see the familial links from where it is possible to extrapolate about relationships with the aid of the minutiae of everyday life. For example, Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1545) and his wife Katherine Grenvile were members of a family traditionally seen as devout 'Catholics.' Katherine's nephew Sir Richard Grenvile (d.1550) is traditionally seen as an early supporter of religious change; a 'Protestant.' Maud Grenvile was related to Sir John Arundell of Lanherne not just because her husband was Arundell's nephew by marriage. Maud and Sir John were blood cousins and shared a grandfather in a previous generation.[26] In another relationship, Maud's sister, Mary, married Katherine Grenvile's nephew, Sir John Arundell of Trerice (d.1560). In the 1570s, Maud's grandson, Sir Richard Grenvile, was often found visiting his cousins the Roscarrocks. By that time, Nicholas Roscarrock was becoming known as a prominent recusant. Further, Sir John Arundell of Lanherne lived at Roscarrock for four years before he died in 1545. It is unlikely that Sir John, a man with spiritual connections to the Carthusians, would have lived in his brother-in-law's house if he were neither welcome nor comfortable. These examples of blood and marriage relationships reflect, as does this whole work, the complexities of familial interconnectedness. They reveal just how impossible it is to take

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[25] Hooker, *Citie of Excester,* 62-63. Walter Raleigh's mother was Elizabeth Edgcumbe, Sir Richard Edgcumbe's aunt. Walter and his wife, Katherine Champernowne, were the parents of the renowned Sir Walter Raleigh, Vivian, *Cornwall,* 141; Vivian, *Devon,* 639.

[26] If their common grandfather was John Arundell of Trembleath and Lanherne (died c.1320-40), which seems possible, then Sir John and Maud were sixth cousins. This relationship cannot be identified exactly

for granted the one-dimensional genealogy chart, and why, when evidence is lacking, pushing the boundaries of knowledge becomes even more significant. Lawrence Stone thought that the intermarrying of the gentry within their respective counties, "century after century," created a "cross-cousinage that was so dense … that it lost its meaning. If everybody is everyone else's cousin, the connection does not matter any more." That is why, wrote Stone, "the recent discovery that Charles I was a remote cousin of John Hampden does nothing to advance our understanding of the English Revolution of the seventeenth century."[27] On the contrary, however, if all seemingly remote familial relationships are ignored along with the minutiae of everyday life then surely what is left is a 'traditional' picture of history. One in which the people who made history, the 'movers and shakers,' are the only ones portrayed, but also are the only ones who matter. They are the only people perceived by some historians as having any relationship to those "large social structures and processes" that Charles Tilly urged his peers to connect to "the concrete experiences of living in families."[28] A very few historians have made that link in innovative ways, but there is still a long way to go.

Despite the absence of 'measuring' tools where familial relationships are concerned, as David Cressy commented, what mattered is what the familial relationships were worth when the crunch came.[29] In 1549, those relationships were worth all that was dear and familiar to the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles and enabled them

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in terms of which John Arundell was their ancestor, because the records are inadequate. Vivian, *Cornwall*, 3-4, 30-31; Fox and Padel, cliv. See computed relationship chart Appendix G page 359.

[27] Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, 96-97.

[28] Charles Tilly, "Family History, Social History, and Social Change," 325.

[29] Cressy, "Kinship and Kin," 42, 49.

to maintain their intricate web of connectedness in the face of extreme political and religious change all the while accommodating change no matter how imposed. Just as parishes around England, like Morebath, spent fifty years conforming and conforming again to each subsequent change of government and policy, the family group bent with the winds of change but did not break. They were inextricably woven into a web of blood, marriage, geographic propinquity, and a shared and inherited culture.

The lives of the people discussed in this work defy the views of historians such as A.L. Rowse, Lawrence Stone and A.G. Dickens. The Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles were real people whose lives cannot be reduced to statistical data, generalization, and merely political interpretation. Further, despite the lack of easily accessible evidence to clearly measure the quality of family relationships we must still make that attempt.[30] The members of that southwest family group loved with passion, shared their pains and fortunes, agreed and disagreed, and, above all, maintained their familial web by accommodating the experiences of their daily lives. Their lives and relationships were complex, whether or not they left the confines of their Devon and Cornish counties. Their parochial habitation did not insulate them from the world of Court and Continent. Rather, their family relationships constantly maintained those very connections. By contrast, the one person who did not mature within his southwestern familial web proved to be a relative anomaly. Consequently, what the examination of this family group reveals is the significance of placing in the context of their familial group, people previously considered only in traditional terms. The "English Reformation" was neither fast, nor desired by the majority, nor inexorable; nor were sixteenth-century families devoid of affection. Rather, the Arundells, Carews, Edgcumbes, and Grenviles shared lives based in blood, marriage, geographical propinquity, and an inherited culture that urged them to close ranks when the crisis came.

A unique opportunity is provided in this work to make the link between 'high' politics and the experiences of daily family life. That opportunity results from the focus on the failure of the southwestern local governors in 1549 to respond to the rebellion in their usual roles. The Tudor Crown and in 1549 those who controlled the young monarch expected the men of the Arundell, Carew, Edgcumbe, Grenvile, and other regional families to maintain law and order on a daily basis and in a crisis. Their failure to fulfil those roles provided a challenge in terms of how to make sense of their behaviour; how to credibly link 'traditional' history – the story of the movers and shakers in society – to everyday life. Daily life does not necessarily leave documentary evidence particularly in official sources, because routine leaves few records - it is invisible - as such, therefore, it is often discounted.

A creative approach was required to try to understand why those prominent men, usually active in their governance roles, were markedly absent from the 1549 rebellion. No piece of evidence could be considered too insignificant or irrelevant when the documentary evidence was so often fragmentary. The minutiae of daily life revealed more than the mundane, however, for it enabled the linking of events at the centre of government and a rebellion that challenged the Tudor crown with the daily lives of the local governors and, therefore, with their families. Making these links provides the opportunity to rethink or reinterpret the events. For, if we do not understand family

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[30] Chynoweth commented correctly that it was impossible "to measure the extent to which cousins were likely to be on good or bad terms because" despite "many examples of both friendship and enmity the

connections, how people related to each other, how they lived their lives, and how they were connected to the centre of government and to significant events, we cannot expect to understand the events of the sixteenth century.

The knowledge we now have about this family group allows historians to rethink some of the assumptions about religious change - "the Reformation" - and about the sharing of political power in sixteenth-century England. No longer will historians be able to say that the local governors in Devon and Cornwall were deeply divided in 1549, particularly not because of religion. Religion in the time of the reformation was a complex web of overlapping beliefs and obligations, much like the families for whom religion often intangibly structured their daily lives. The families of gentry in Devon and Cornwall demonstrate that religion, politics, and governance were never straight-forward; allegiances, beliefs, and practices - of whatever nature – were all involved in the making of the early modern state. Families provide us with a much richer understanding of the tapestry of social life; equally, they are an essential element of 'high' politics and of religion.

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numbers are insufficient to provide a valid example," 93.

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APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHIES

Following is brief information on the main families in this study and biographical information on the most significant people.

THE ARUNDELLS

For a discussion of the origin and spelling of the name Arundell, see H.S.A. Fox and O.J. Padel, eds., *The Cornish Lands of the Arundells of Lanherne, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2000), ix-x. In this work, the spelling Arundell is used unless it is spelled otherwise in a direct quotation.

The two most important branches of the Arundells are usually identified by their landholdings of Lanherne and Trerice in Cornwall. Those manor names are used in this work to differentiate the two families.

ARUNDELLS OF LANHERNE, CORNWALL

Arundell, Elizabeth (d.1516/25), daughter of Sir John Arundell and Eleanor Grey, married Richard Edgcumbe in 1516.

Arundell, Humphrey (n.d.), son of Sir Thomas and Catherine Dinham, a younger brother of Sir John Arundell (d.1545). Married Phillipa Grenvile, daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvile and Isabella Gilbert.

Arundell, Humphrey (1512/13-1550), son of Roger Arundell and Johanna Calwoodley. Married Elizabeth Fulford. Executed for his role as leader of the Cornish rebels in 1549. As there is more than one spelling of Humphrey's name, in this work it is spelled with a 'ph' unless it is different in a direct quotation.

Arundell, Jane (d.1577), daughter of Sir John Arundell (c.1474-1545) and Eleanor Grey.

Arundell, John (d.1504), son of Sir Renfry Arundell and Ann Hogard. Bishop of Exeter. First cousin of Sir Arundell of Lanherne (1421-1471/73).

Arundell, Sir John (c.1474-1545), eldest son of Sir Thomas Arundell (d.1485) and Catherine Dinham. Married Eleanor Grey then Katherine Grenvile of Stowe, youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvile of Stowe and Isabella Gilbert.

Arundell, Sir John (c.1500-1557), eldest son of Sir John Arundell (d.1545) and Eleanor Grey. Married Mary Edgcumbe then Elizabeth Danet.

Arundell, Sir John (1527/30-1590), eldest son of Sir John Arundell (d.1557) and Elizabeth Danet, married Anne Stanley, daughter of the Earl of Derby.

Arundell, Katherine, daughter of Sir John Arundell and Elizabeth Danet. Married John Tregian. Mother of Frances Tregian, noted recusant.

Arundell, Roger (d.1536), son of Sir Thomas Arundell and Catherine Dinham. Married Johanna Calwodely (d.1537). Father of Humphrey Arundell leader of the Cornish rebels in 1549.

Arundell, Sir Thomas (c.1452-1485), married Catherine Dinham, sister and co-heiress of John, Lord Dinham, Lord Treasurer to Henry VII.

Arundell, Sir Thomas (c.1502-1552), younger son of Sir John Arundell and Eleanor Grey. Married Margaret Howard, sister of Katherine, fourth wife of Henry VIII.

ARUNDELLS OF TRERICE, CORNWALL

Arundell, Sir John (c.1439-1473/74), son of Nicholas Arundell and Johanna St. John. Married Ann Moyle.

Arundell, Sir John (by c.1473?-1511), son of Sir John Arundell and Ann Moyle. Married Jane Grenvile (1475/80-1552), eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvile and Isabella Gilbert.

Arundell, Sir John (c.1495-1560), son of Sir John and Jane Grenvile, married first Mary Bevill and second, Julia Erisey.

Arundell, John, esquire (1513/34-1580), son of Sir John Arundell (c.1495-1560) and Julia Erisy.

Arundell, Julia[na] (1563-1629), daughter of John Arundell, esquire, (d.1580) and Catherine Cosworth. Married Richard Carew of Antony.

Arundell, John (1557-1613), grandson and heir of Sir John Arundell of Trerice and Mary Bevill. Inherited Gwarnock, Cornwall.

CAREWS OF ANTONY, CORNWALL

Carew, Richard (1555-1620), son of Thomas Carew and Elizabeth Edgcumbe. Married Julia Arundell of Trerice in 1577. Noted antiquarian.

Carew, Thomas (1527-1564), son of Sir Wymond Carew and Martha Denny. Married Elizabeth Edgcumbe.

Carew, Sir Wymond (d.1549), son of John Carew and Thomasin Holland, Married Martha Denny.

CAREWS OF MOHUNS OTTERY, DEVON

Carew, Sir Edmund (c.1464-1513), son of Sir Nicholas Carew and Margaret Dinham. Married Catherine Huddesfield.

Carew, Sir Gawen (c.1503-1585), son of Sir Edmund Carew and Catherine Huddesfield.

Carew, Sir George (d.1545), eldest son of Sir William Carew and Catherine Courtenay. Married Thomasin Pollard and Mary Norris.

Carew, Sir Peter (c.1512/14-1575), youngest son of Sir William Carew and Joan Courtenay (d.1554).

Carew, Sir William (c.1483/85-1535/36), son of Sir Edmund Carew and Catherine Huddesfield. Married Joan Courtenay.

EDGCUMBES

The spelling of the Edgcumbe name is confusing. The spelling Edgcumbe was adopted for the Mount Edgcumbe branch when the Earldom was created in 1789. G. Edgcombe credits Richard Carew of Antony with establishing what is now the 'official' spelling. For a history of the spelling and its changes see G. Edgcombe, "The surname Edg(e)combe/Edg(e)cumbe: origin of the form 'Edgcumbe' in the 16th century," *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, 36, 2 (1987): 65-68. For consistency in this work, unless in a direct quotation, the name is spelled Edgcumbe as it is found in J.L. Vivian, ed., *The Visitations of Cornwall comprising the Herald's Visitations of 1530, 1573, and 1620* (Exeter: Pollard, 1887), 141-43.

Edgcumbe, Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Edgcumbe and Elizabeth Tregian. Married, Hugh Dowrish.

Edgcumbe, Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Edgcumbe and Joan Tremayne. Married Sir William Courtenay.

Edgcumbe, Sir Piers (c.1459-1539), son of Sir Richard and Joan Tremayne. Married first, Joan Durnford, second, Katherine St John.

Edgcumbe, Sir Richard (d.1489), married Joan Tremayne.

Edgcumbe, Sir Richard (1499-1561/62), daughter of Sir Piers Edgcumbe and Catherine Durnford. Married, first to Elizabeth (Catherine) Arundell of Lanherne, second, possibly, to Winfred Essex, and third to Elizabeth Tregian.

Edgcumbe, Piers (1536?-1607), son of Sir Richard and Elizabeth Tregian. Married Margaret Lutterell.

GRENVILES OF STOWE, CORNWALL

The name Grenvile is found variously spelled. R. Pearse Chope, for example, found "more than fifty variants of the name."[1] For consistency in this work, unless spelled otherwise in a direct quotation, the name is spelled Grenvile as found in the family record cited in J.L. Vivian, ed., *The Visitations of Cornwall comprising the Herald's Visitations of 1530, 1573, and 1620* (Exeter: Pollard, 1887), 190-97.

Grenvile, Agnes (b.1486/91), daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvile and Isabella Gilbert. Married John Roscarrock.

Grenvile, Honor (1493/95-1564?), second youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvile and Isabella Gilbert. Second wife of Sir John Basset (d.1528) and of Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle.

Grenvile, Jane (1475/80-1552), eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvile and Isabella Gilbert. Married first, Sir John Arundell of Trerice (d.1511), second, Sir John Chamond.

Grenvile, John (d.1580), son of Sir Thomas Grenvile (d.1513) and Johanna [Towse?]. Priest at Kilkhampton.

Grenvile, Katherine (b.1489/93), youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvile and Isabella Gilbert. Second wife of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1545).

Grenvile, Mary (b.1483/88), daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvile and Isabella Gilbert. Married Thomas St Aubyn.

Grenvile, Phillipa (b.1484/89-1524), daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvile and Isabella Gilbert. Marriages to Humphrey Arundell of Lanherne, Frances Harris and, possibly, Stening.

Grenvile, Sir Richard (by 1495-1550), son of Sir Roger Grenvile (d.1523) and Margaret Whitley. Married Maude Bevill.

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[1] R. Pearse Chope, "New Light on Sir Richard Grenvile," *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, vol. XLIX (vol. IX 3d s.) (July 1971): 210.

Grenvile, Roger (d.1545), son and heir of Sir Richard Grenvile and Maude Bevill. Married Thomasin Cole.

Grenvile, Sir Richard (1542-1591), son of Roger Grenvile and Thomasin Cole.

Grenvile, Sir Roger (d.1523), son and heir of Sir Thomas Grenvile and Isabella Gilbert. Married Margaret Whitley (Whitleigh).

Grenvile. Sir Thomas (d. 1513), married first Isabella Gilbert, second Johanna [Towse?].

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BASSET

Basset, Anne (c.1521-1557), daughter of Honor Grenvile and Sir John Basset. Married Walter (Francis?) Hungerford.

Basset, Sir Arthur (1541?-1586), son and heir of John Basset and Francis Plantagenet. Married Eleanor Chichester.

Basset, Charles, son of James Basset and Mary Roper.

Basset, George (d.1580), son of Sir John Basset and Honor Grenvile. Married Jacquet[ta] Coffin.

Basset, Honor [Eleanor?] (born c.1539?), daughter of John Basset and Francis Plantagenet.

Basset, James (1526/27-1557/58), son of Sir John Basset and Honor Grenvile. Married Mary Roper, granddaughter of Sir Thomas More.

Basset, Philip, son of James Basset and Mary Roper.

Basset, Katherine (b.1517/20), daughter of Honor Grenvile and Sir John Basset. Married Sir Henry Ashley.

Basset, Sir John (c.1462-1528/29), son of Sir John Basset (d.1485) and Elizabeth Budockshyde. Married, Anne Dennys, and Honor Grenvile.

Basset, John (1518-1541), son and heir of Sir John Basset and Honor Grenvile. Married his step-sister Francis Plantagenet.

BEVILL

Bevill, Mary, daughter of Peter Bevill of Gwarnock, Cornwall. Sister of Maud Grenvile. First wife of Sir John Arundell of Trerice (d.1560).

Bevill, Maude (d.1550), daughter of Peter Bevill of Gwarnock, Cornwall. Sister of Mary Bevill. Married Sir Richard Grenvile (d.1550).

CHAMOND

Chamond, Sir John (d.1544), of Launcells, Cornwall. Second husband of Jane Grenvile.

Chamond, Richard (c.1514-1599), son of Jane Grenvile and Sir John Chamond. Sheriff of Cornwall in 1549.

CHAMPERNOWNE (Champernon)

Champernowne, Henry (1538-1570), heir to his grandfather Sir Philip. Married Catherine, daughter of Sir Richard Edgcumbe and Elizabeth Tregian.

Champernowne Joan, daughter of Sir Phillip Champernowne and Catherine Carew. Married Sir Anthony Denny.

Champernowne, Sir Phillip (c.1479-1545/46). Married Catherine Carew, daughter of Sir Edmund.

COURTENAY

Courtenay, Sir Peter (d.1552), son of Sir William Courtenay of Powderham and Margaret Edgcumbe. Sheriff of Devon in 1549.

DENNY

Denny, Sir Anthony, married Catherine Champernowne. The most influential of Henry VIII's courtiers prior to the King's death.

Denny, Martha (dates), daughter of Joan Champernowne and Sir Anthony Denny. Married Sir Wymond Carew of Antony.

DINHAM

Dinham, Catherine, daughter of Sir John Dinham and Jane Arches. Married Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne (d.1484).

Dinham, Charles (d by 1501?), son of Sir John Dinham and Jane Arches. First husband of Joan Durnford.

DOWRISH

Dowrish, Hugh, son of Thomas Dowrish and Anne Farrington. Married Anne Edgcumbe.

DURNFORD/DERNFORD

Durnford , Joan (Johanna) (born c.1474-76). Daughter and heir of James Durnford (d.1479) and Jane Holland. Married first to Charles Dinham, second to Sir Piers Edgcumbe.

GILBERT

Gilbert, Isabella, daughter of Otis [Otes] Gilbert of Devon, first wife of Sir Thomas Grenvile.

GREY

Grey [Gray], Eleanor [Elizabeth] (d. by 1503), daughter of Thomas Grey, 1st Marquis of Dorset, and Cecily, Lady Harynton and Bonvyll. Married Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1545).

Grey [Gray], Thomas, 1st Marquis of Dorset, (1451-1501), son of Elizabeth Woodville and Sir John Grey. Married Cecily, Lady Harynton and Bonvyll (died c.1527).

HUSEE

Husee, John (c.1506-1548), agent in London of Lord and Lady Lisle, Arthur Plantagenet and Honor Grenvile.

PLANTAGENET

Plantagenet, Arthur, Lord Lisle (1462?-1542), illegitimate son of Edward IV and Elizabeth Lucy. Uncle of Henry VIII. Married, first, Elizabeth Grey, Viscountess Lisle, second, Honor Grenvile.

Plantagenet, Frances, daughter of Arthur, Lord Lisle. Married John Basset.

ROSCARROCK

Roscarrock, John (d.1537), of Roscarrock, Cornwall, married Agnes Grenvile of Stowe.

Roscarrock, Richard (by 1507-1575), son and heir of John Roscarrock and Agnes Grenvile. Married Isabell Trevener.

Roscarrock, Thomas (by 1532-1587), son and heir of Richard Roscarrock and Isabell Trevener. Married Jane Pentier.

ROPER

Roper, Mary, daughter of William Roper and Margaret More, daughter of Sir Thomas More.

ST. AUBYN

St Aubyn, Thomas. of Clowance, Cornwall, married Mary Grenvile of Stowe.

ST. JOHN

St John, Katherine (d.1553), daughter of Sir John St. John of Bletsoe. Married first Sir Griffith Ryce of Wales, second, Sir Piers Edgcumbe.

STANLEY

Stanley, Ann (d.1602), daughter of the Earl of Derby. Married first Charles, Lord Stourton, second, Sir John Arundell (d.1590).

TREGIAN

Tregian, Frances (1548-1608), son and heir of John Tregian and Katherine Arundell. Imprisoned for recusancy and for harbouring Cuthbert Mayne, the first seminary priest to be executed in England.

WOODVILLE

Woodville, Elizabeth, married first to Sir John Grey, second to Edward IV (1461-1483).

YORK

York, Elizabeth of (d.1503), daughter of Elizabeth Woodville and Edward IV. Queen of Henry VII and mother of Henry VIII.

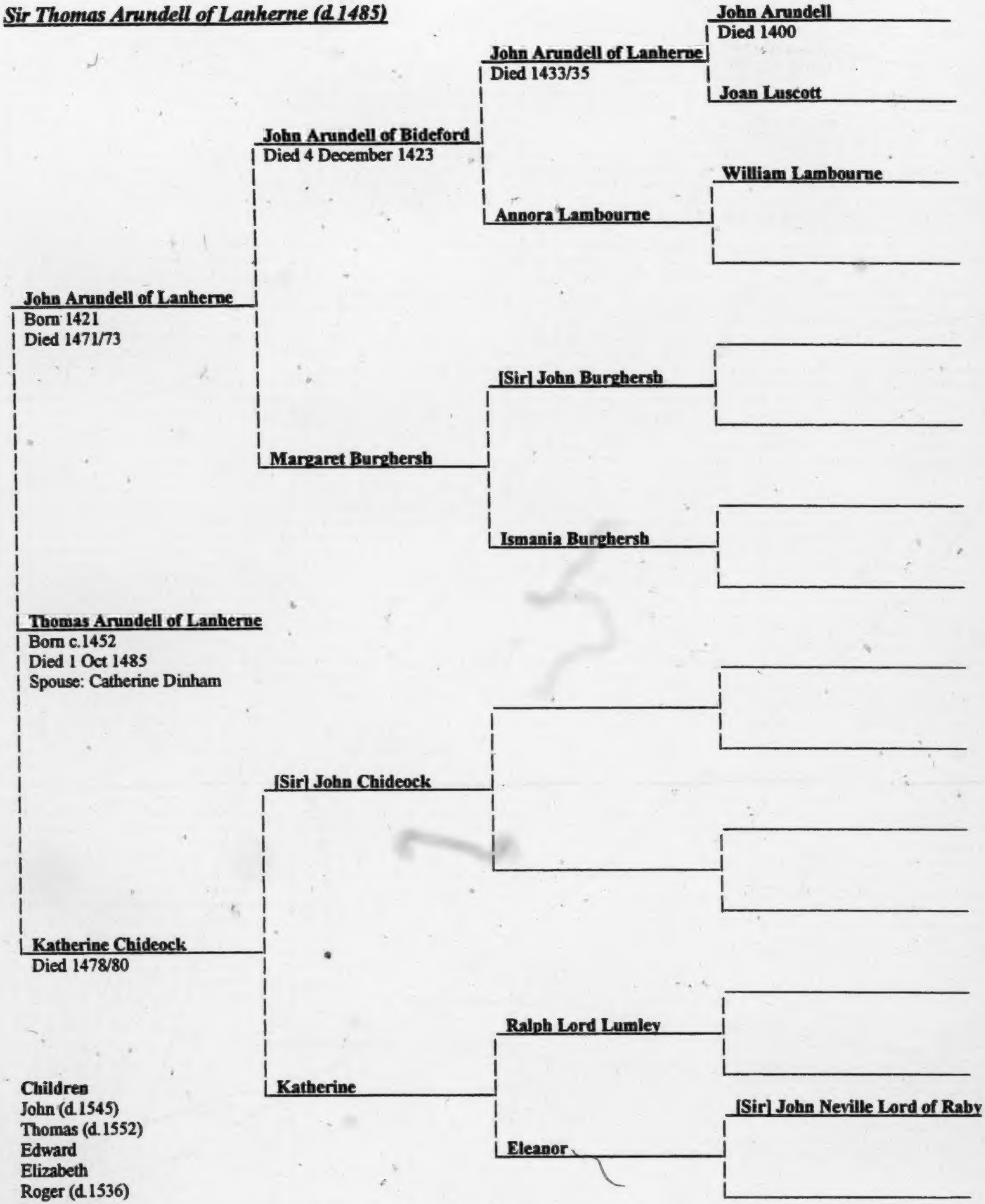
Appendix B

Ancestry – Arundell of Lanherne

Ancestry charts read from left to right. They reflect the ancestral lineage of the individual whose name appears both in the top left-hand corner of the page and in the centre left of the page. Their parents are cited on the left-hand side directly above and below the name of the individual. Five generations are cited ending on the right-hand side of the page with the great great grandparents.

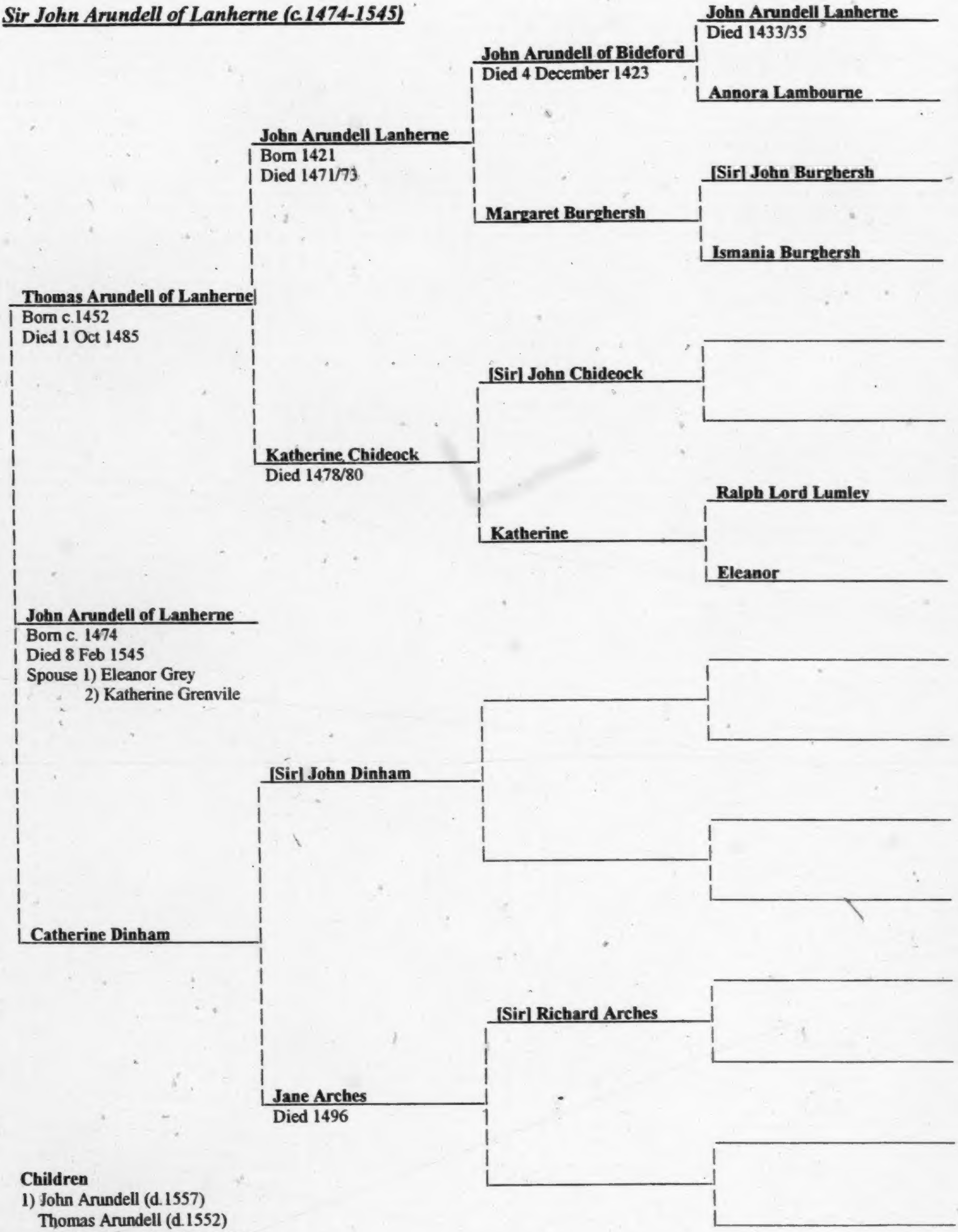
Sir Thomas Arundell (d.1485) page 289
Sir John Arundell (d.1545) 290
Sir John Arundell (d.1557) 291
Sir John Arundell (d.1590) 292
Sir Thomas Arundell (d.1552) 293
Mary Arundell Countess of Sussex and Arundel (d.1557) 294
Jane Arundell (d.1577) 295
Elizabeth Arundell (d.1516/20s) 296
Humphrey Arundell 297
Roger Arundell (d.1536) 298
Humphrey Arundell (d.1550) 299
John Arundell Bishop of Exeter (d.1504) 300
Katherine Arundell 301
Henry Arundell 7 Baron of Wardour (d.1756) 302
Henry Arundell 3 Baron of Wardour (d.1694) 303
Mary Beling Arundell (d.1769) 304
Sir John Arundell (b.1595) 305

Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne (d.1485)


John Arundell
Died 1400
John Arundell of Lanherne
Died 1433/35
Joan Luscott
John Arundell of Bideford
Died 4 December 1423
William Lambourne
Annora Lambourne
John Arundell of Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73
[Sir] John Burghersh
Margaret Burghersh
Ismania Burghersh
Thomas Arundell of Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485
Spouse: Catherine Dinham
[Sir] John Chideock
Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80
Ralph Lord Lumley
Katherine
[Sir] John Neville Lord of Raby
Eleanor

Children
John (d.1545)
Thomas (d.1552)
Edward
Elizabeth
Roger (d.1536)
Humphrey
Eleanor
Maria

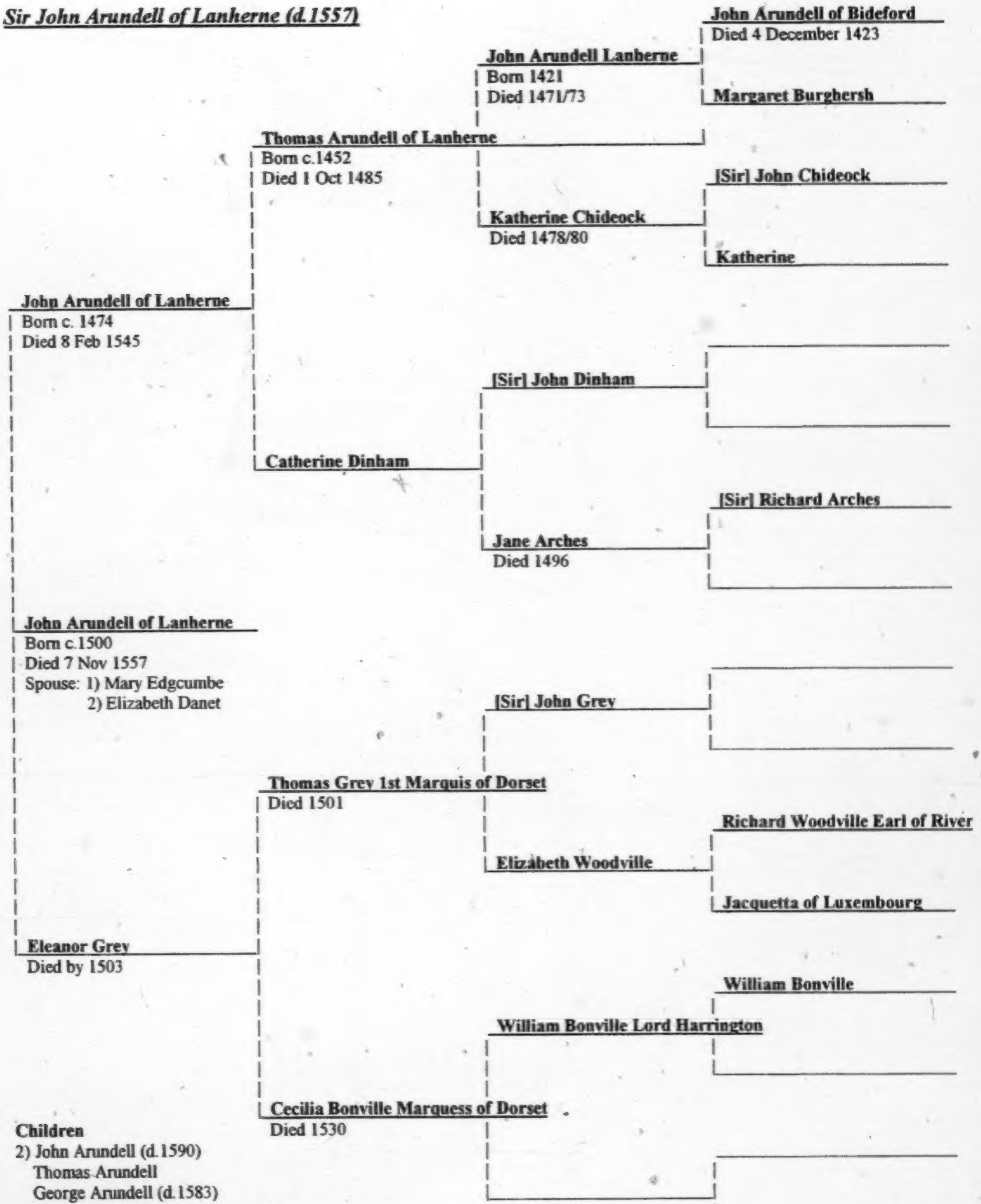
Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (c.1474-1545)


John Arundell Lanherne
Died 1433/35
John Arundell of Bideford
Died 4 December 1423
Annora Lambourne
John Arundell Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73
[Sir] John Burghersh
Margaret Burghersh
Ismania Burghersh
Thomas Arundell of Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485
[Sir] John Chideock
Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80
Ralph Lord Lumley
Katherine
Eleanor
John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c. 1474
Died 8 Feb 1545
Spouse 1) Eleanor Grey
2) Katherine Grenvile
[Sir] John Dinham
Catherine Dinham
[Sir] Richard Arches
Jane Arches
Died 1496

Children

1) John Arundell (d.1557)
Thomas Arundell (d.1552)
Elizabeth Arundell (d.1516/20s)
Jane Arundell (d.1577)
2) Mary Arundell (d.1557)

Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1557)



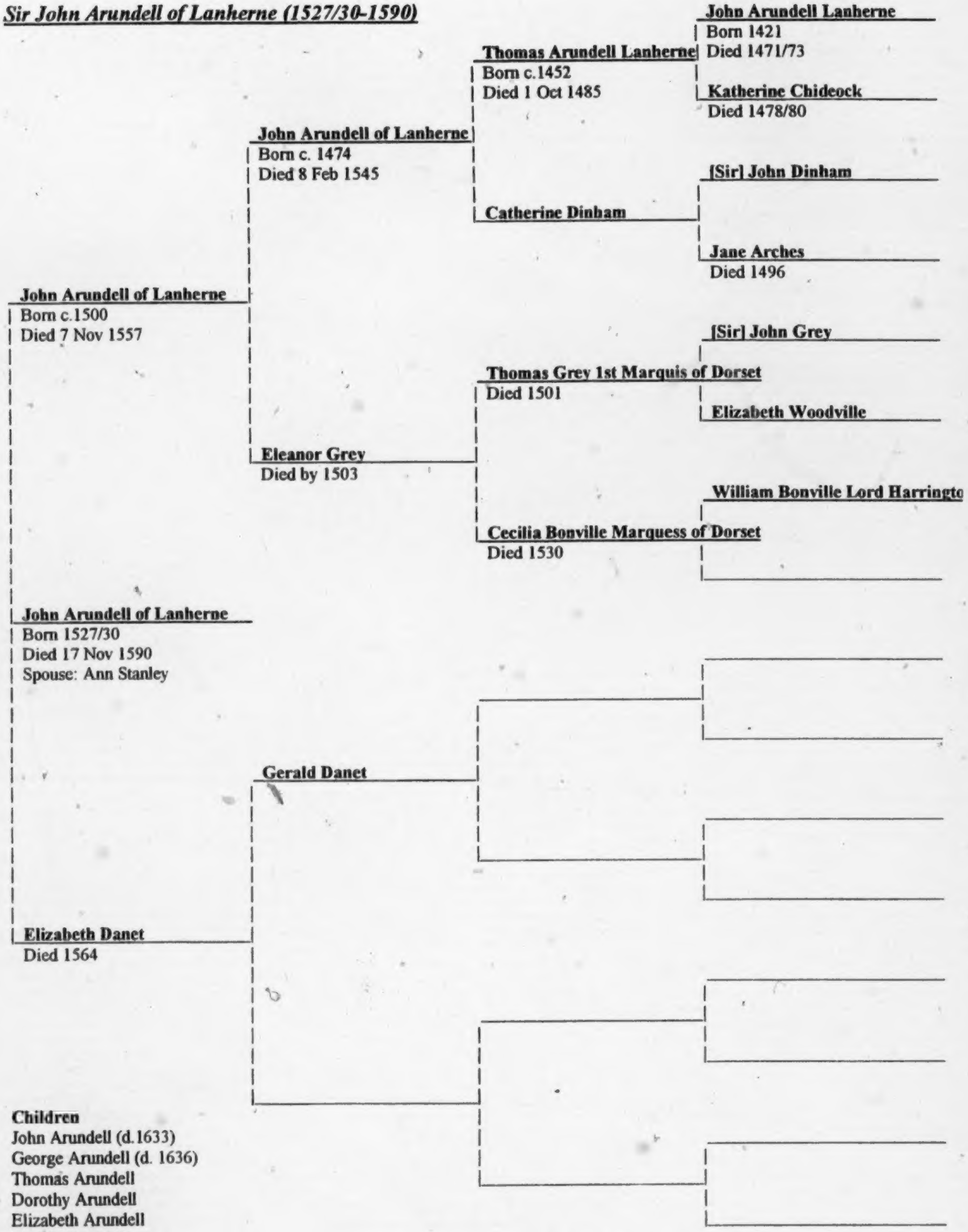
John Arundell of Bideford
Died 4 December 1423
John Arundell Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73
Margaret Burghersh
Thomas Arundell of Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485
[Sir] John Chideock
Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80
Katherine
John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c. 1474
Died 8 Feb 1545
[Sir] John Dinham
Catherine Dinham
[Sir] Richard Arches
Jane Arches
Died 1496
John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c.1500
Died 7 Nov 1557
Spouse: 1) Mary Edgcumbe
2) Elizabeth Danet
[Sir] John Grey
Thomas Grey 1st Marquis of Dorset
Died 1501
Richard Woodville Earl of River
Elizabeth Woodville
Jacquetta of Luxembourg
Eleanor Grey
Died by 1503
William Bonville
William Bonville Lord Harrington
Cecilia Bonville Marquess of Dorset
Died 1530

Children

2) John Arundell (d.1590)
Thomas Arundell
George Arundell (d.1583)
Humphrey Arundell
Edward Arundell (d.1587)
Katherine Arundell
Johanna Arundell
Mary Arundell

Elizabeth Arundell
Isabell Arundell
Cecilia Arundell
Dorothy Arundell

Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (1527/30-1590)



John Arundell of Lanherne
Born 1527/30
Died 17 Nov 1590
Spouse: Ann Stanley

John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c.1500
Died 7 Nov 1557

Elizabeth Danet
Died 1564

John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c. 1474
Died 8 Feb 1545

Eleanor Grey
Died by 1503

Gerald Danet

Thomas Arundell Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485

Catherine Dinham

Thomas Grey 1st Marquis of Dorset
Died 1501

Cecilia Bonville Marquess of Dorset
Died 1530

John Arundell Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73

Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80

[Sir] John Dinham

Jane Arches
Died 1496

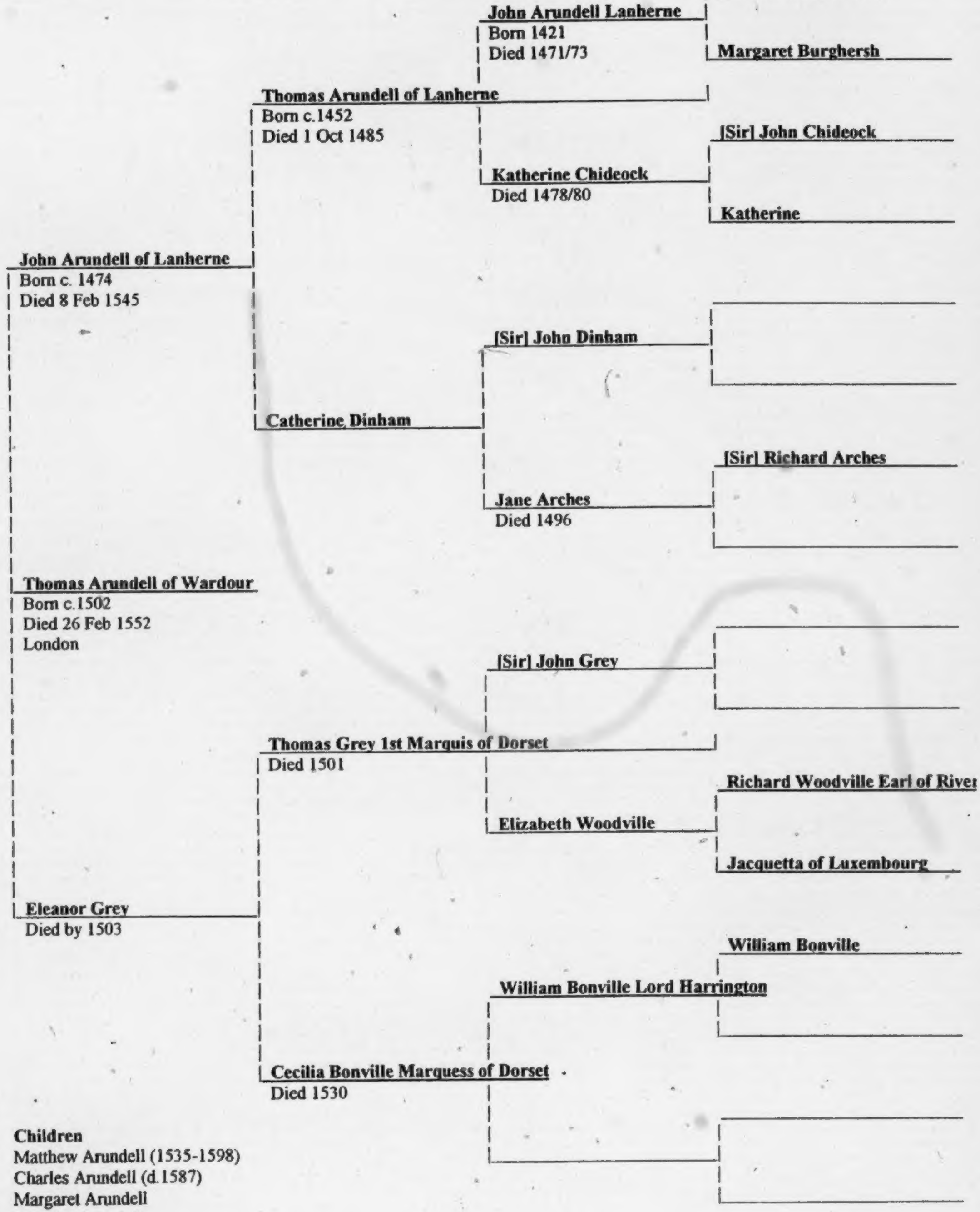
[Sir] John Grey

Elizabeth Woodville

William Bonville Lord Harringto

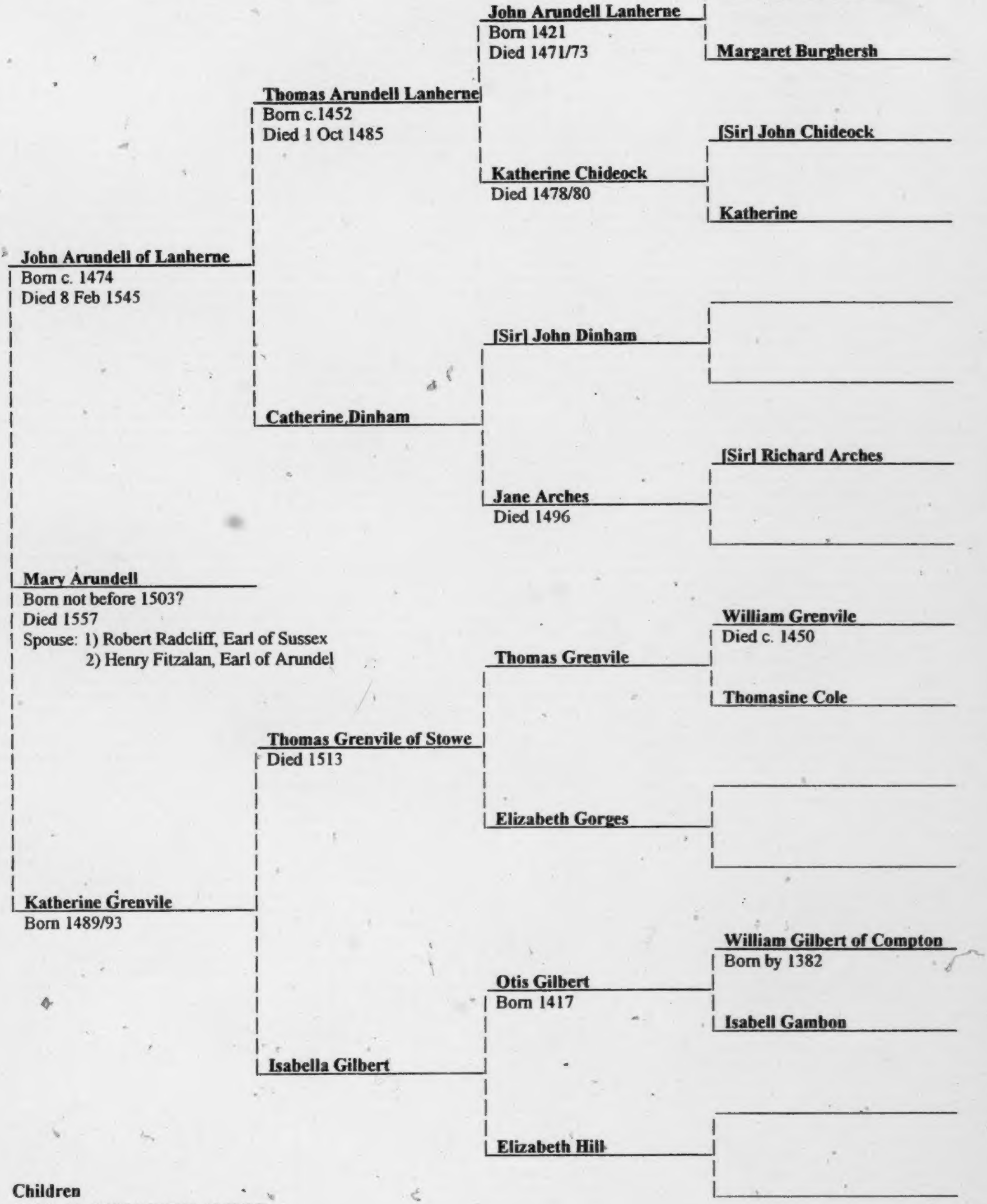
Children
John Arundell (d.1633)
George Arundell (d. 1636)
Thomas Arundell
Dorothy Arundell
Elizabeth Arundell
Cecilia Arundell
Gertrude Arundell
Margaret Arundell

Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne and Wardour (c.1502-1552)


John Arundell of Bideford
Died 4 December 1423
John Arundell Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73
Margaret Burghersh
Thomas Arundell of Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485
[Sir] John Chideock
Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80
Katherine
John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c. 1474
Died 8 Feb 1545
[Sir] John Dinham
Catherine Dinham
[Sir] Richard Arches
Jane Arches
Died 1496
Thomas Arundell of Wardour
Born c.1502
Died 26 Feb 1552
London
[Sir] John Grey
Thomas Grey 1st Marquis of Dorset
Died 1501
Richard Woodville Earl of Rivei
Elizabeth Woodville
Jacquetta of Luxembourg
Eleanor Grey
Died by 1503
William Bonville
William Bonville Lord Harrington
Cecilia Bonville Marquess of Dorset
Died 1530

Children
Matthew Arundell (1535-1598)
Charles Arundell (d.1587)
Margaret Arundell
Dorothy Arundell
Jane Arundell

Mary Arundell Countess of Sussex and Arundel (d.1557)



John Arundell of Bideford
Died 4 December 1423

John Arundell Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73

Margaret Burghersh

Thomas Arundell Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485

[Sir] John Chideock

Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80

Katherine

John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c. 1474
Died 8 Feb 1545

[Sir] John Dinham

Catherine Dinham

[Sir] Richard Arches

Jane Arches
Died 1496

Mary Arundell
Born not before 1503?
Died 1557
Spouse: 1) Robert Radcliff, Earl of Sussex
2) Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel

William Grenvile
Died c. 1450

Thomas Grenvile

Thomasine Cole

Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513

Elizabeth Gorges

Katherine Grenvile
Born 1489/93

William Gilbert of Compton
Born by 1382

Otis Gilbert
Born 1417

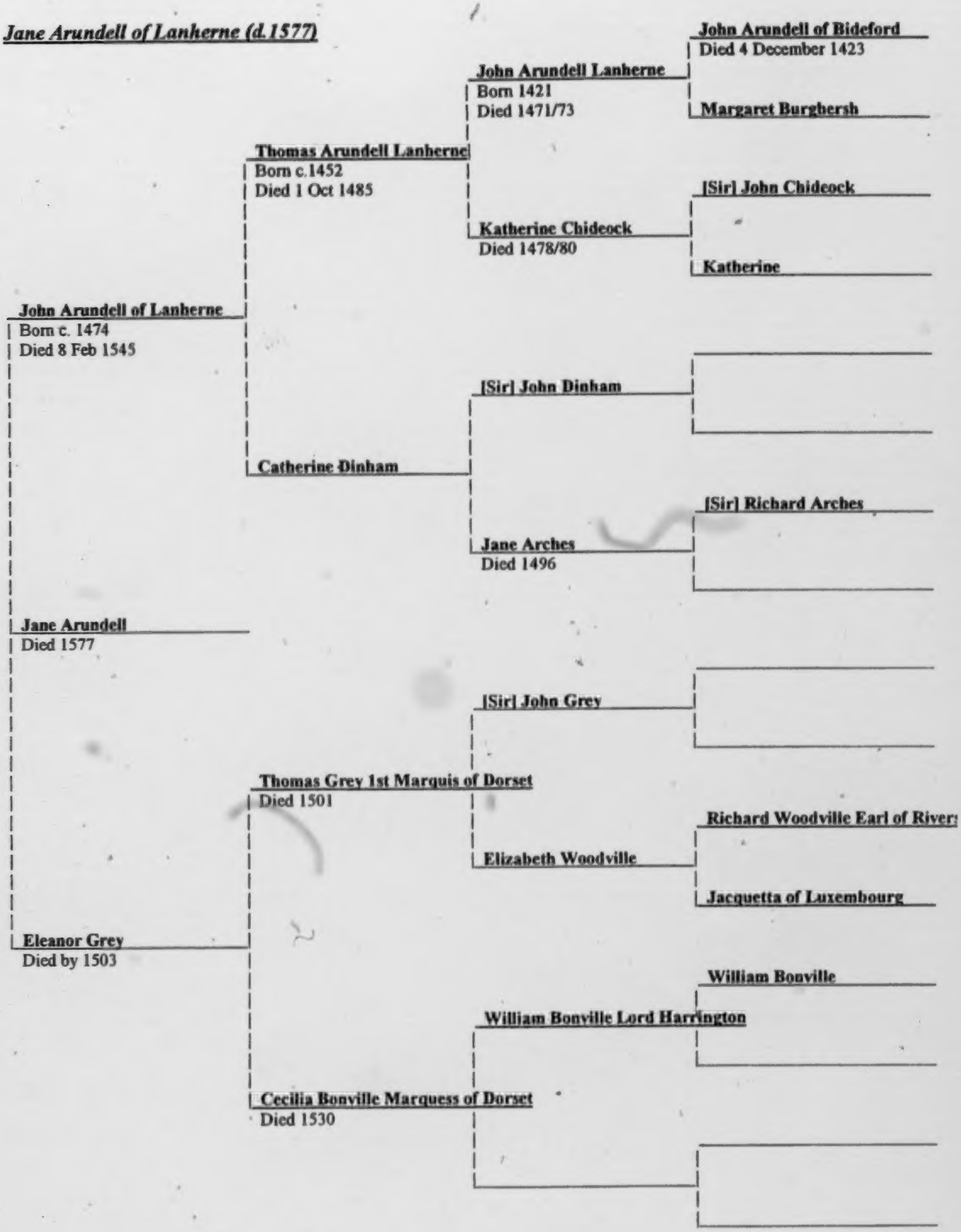
Isabell Gambon

Isabella Gilbert

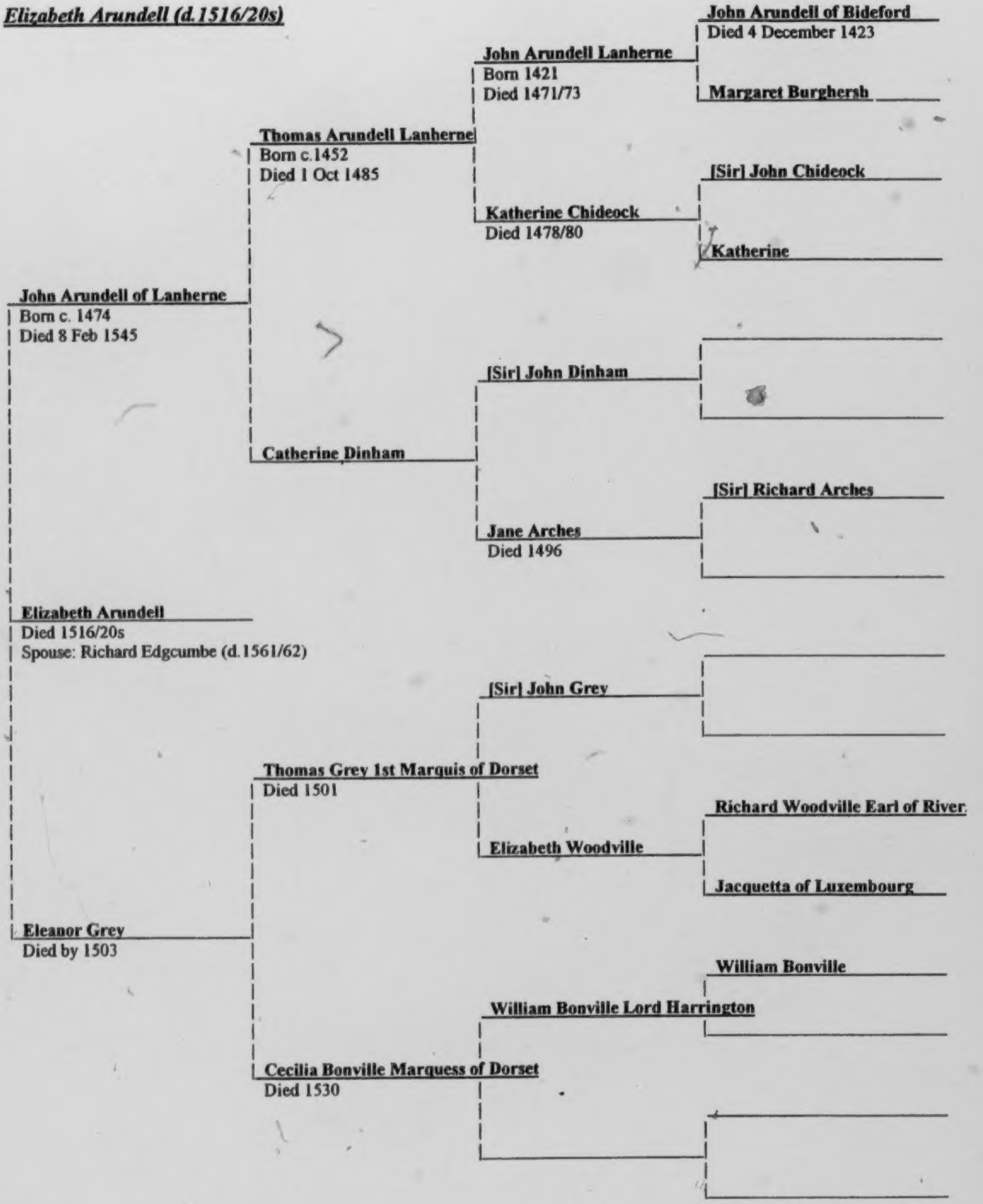
Elizabeth Hill

Children
1) John Radcliff (1539/43-1568/85)

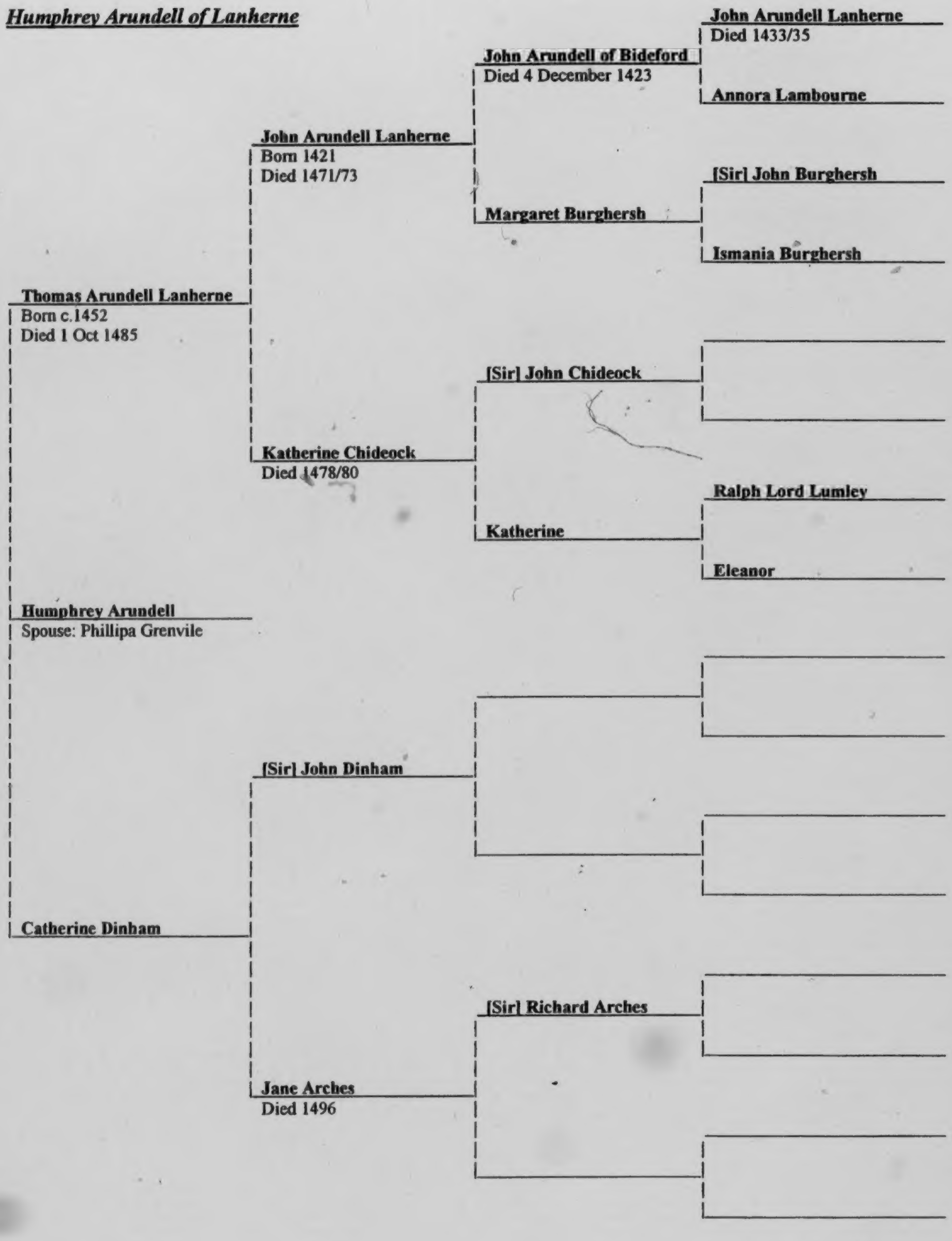
Jane Arundell of Lanherne (d.1577)


John Arundell of Bideford
Died 4 December 1423
John Arundell Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73
Margaret Burghersh
Thomas Arundell Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485
[Sir] John Chideock
Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80
Katherine
John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c. 1474
Died 8 Feb 1545
[Sir] John Dinham
Catherine Dinham
[Sir] Richard Arches
Jane Arches
Died 1496
Jane Arundell
Died 1577
[Sir] John Grey
Thomas Grey 1st Marquis of Dorset
Died 1501
Richard Woodville Earl of River
Elizabeth Woodville
Jacquetta of Luxembourg
Eleanor Grey
Died by 1503
William Bonville
William Bonville Lord Harrington
Cecilia Bonville Marquess of Dorset
Died 1530

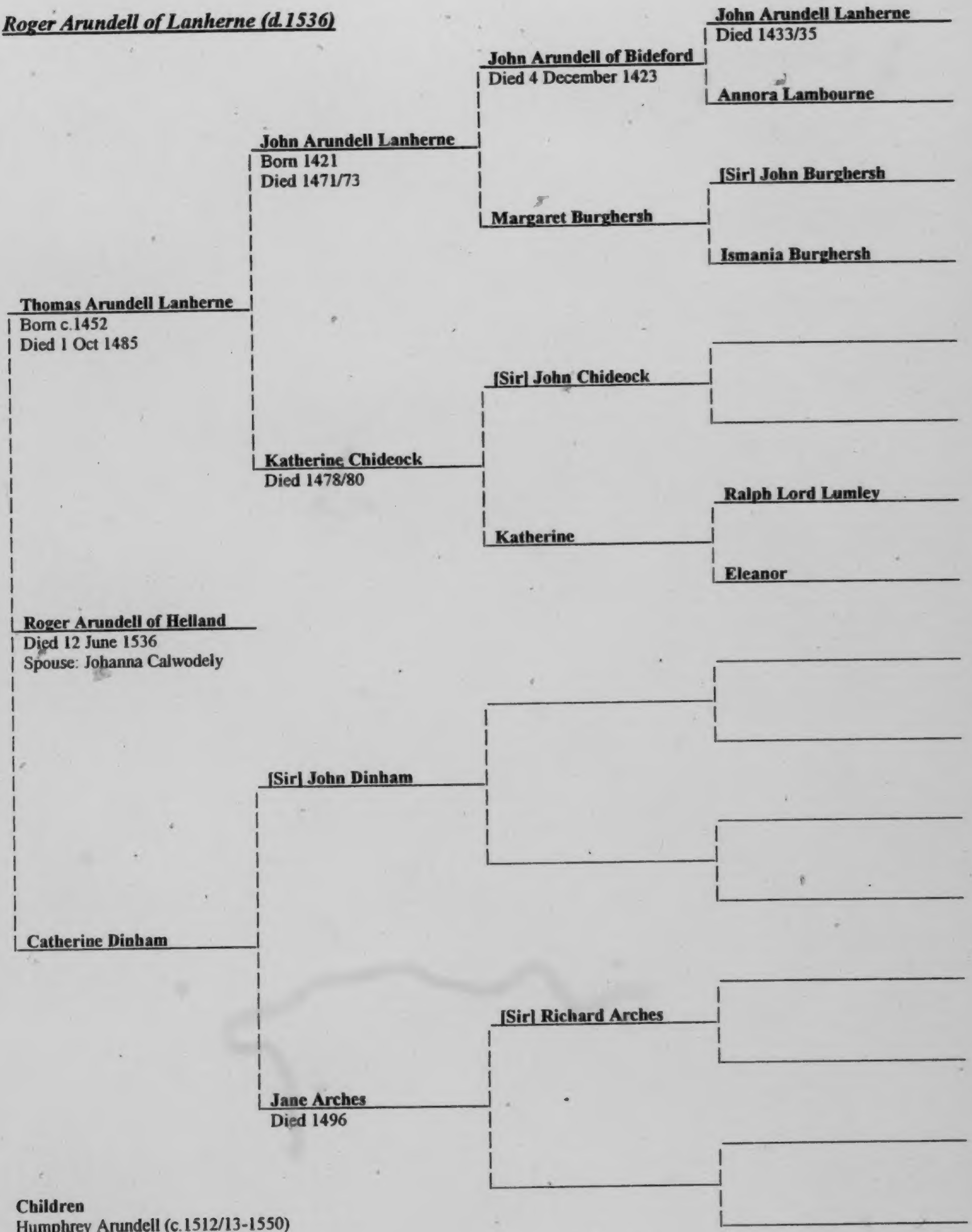
Elizabeth Arundell (d.1516/20s)


John Arundell of Bideford
Died 4 December 1423
John Arundell Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73
Margaret Burghersh
Thomas Arundell Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485
[Sir] John Chideock
Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80
Katherine
John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c. 1474
Died 8 Feb 1545
[Sir] John Dinham
Catherine Dinham
[Sir] Richard Arches
Jane Arches
Died 1496
Elizabeth Arundell
Died 1516/20s
Spouse: Richard Edgcumbe (d.1561/62)
[Sir] John Grey
Thomas Grey 1st Marquis of Dorset
Died 1501
Richard Woodville Earl of River
Elizabeth Woodville
Jacquetta of Luxembourg
Eleanor Grey
Died by 1503
William Bonville
William Bonville Lord Harrington
Cecilia Bonville Marquess of Dorset
Died 1530

Humphrey Arundell of Lanherne

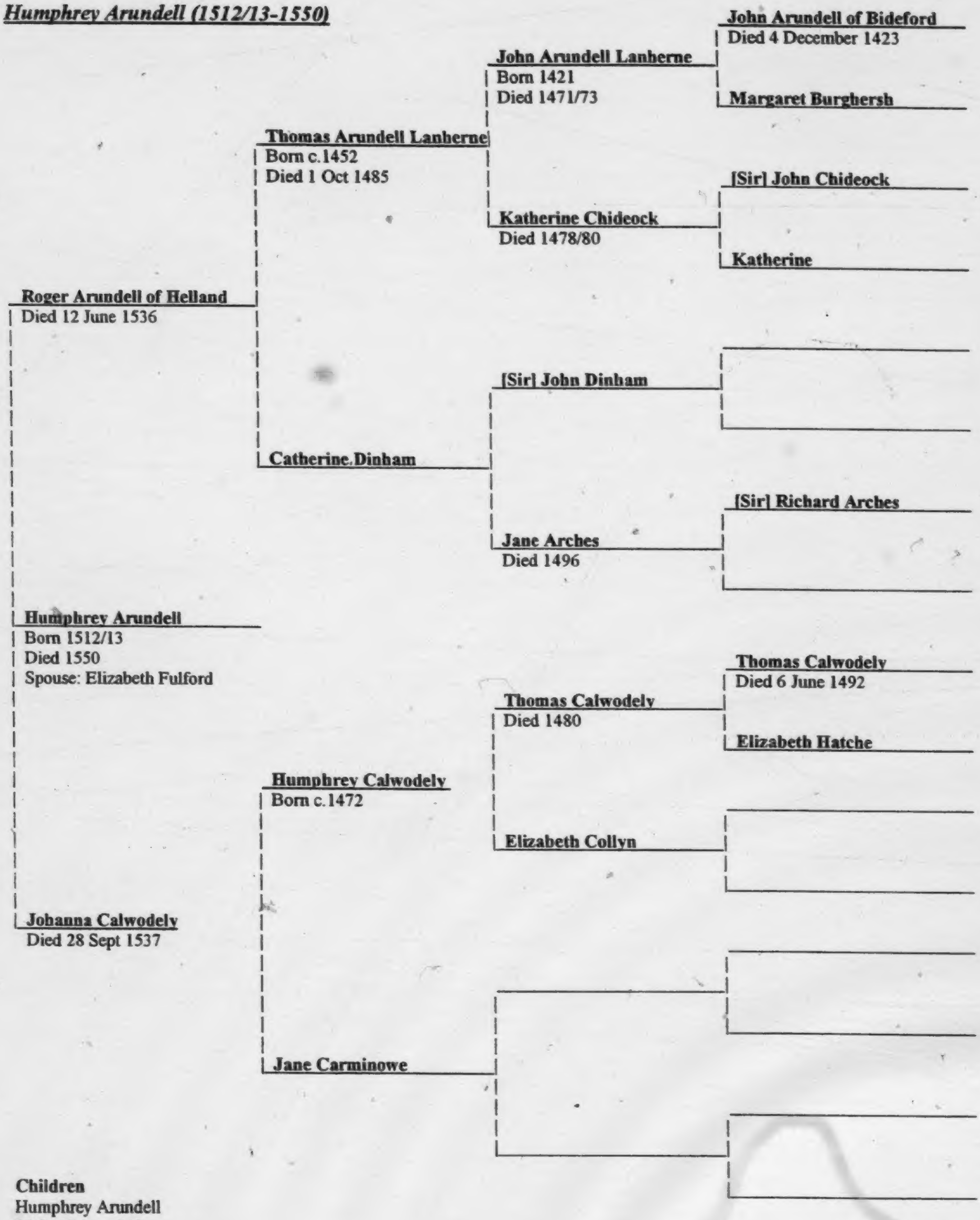

John Arundell Lanherne
Died 1433/35
John Arundell of Bideford
Died 4 December 1423
Annora Lambourne
John Arundell Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73
[Sir] John Burghersh
Margaret Burghersh
Ismania Burghersh
Thomas Arundell Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485
[Sir] John Chideock
Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80
Ralph Lord Lumley
Katherine
Eleanor
Humphrey Arundell
Spouse: Phillipa Grenvile
[Sir] John Dinham
Catherine Dinham
[Sir] Richard Arches
Jane Arches
Died 1496

Roger Arundell of Lanherne (d.1536)


John Arundell Lanherne
Died 1433/35
John Arundell of Bideford
Died 4 December 1423
Annora Lambourne
John Arundell Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73
[Sir] John Burghersh
Margaret Burghersh
Ismania Burghersh
Thomas Arundell Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485
[Sir] John Chideock
Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80
Ralph Lord Lumley
Katherine
Eleanor
Roger Arundell of Helland
Died 12 June 1536
Spouse: Johanna Calwodely
[Sir] John Dinham
Catherine Dinham
[Sir] Richard Arches
Jane Arches
Died 1496

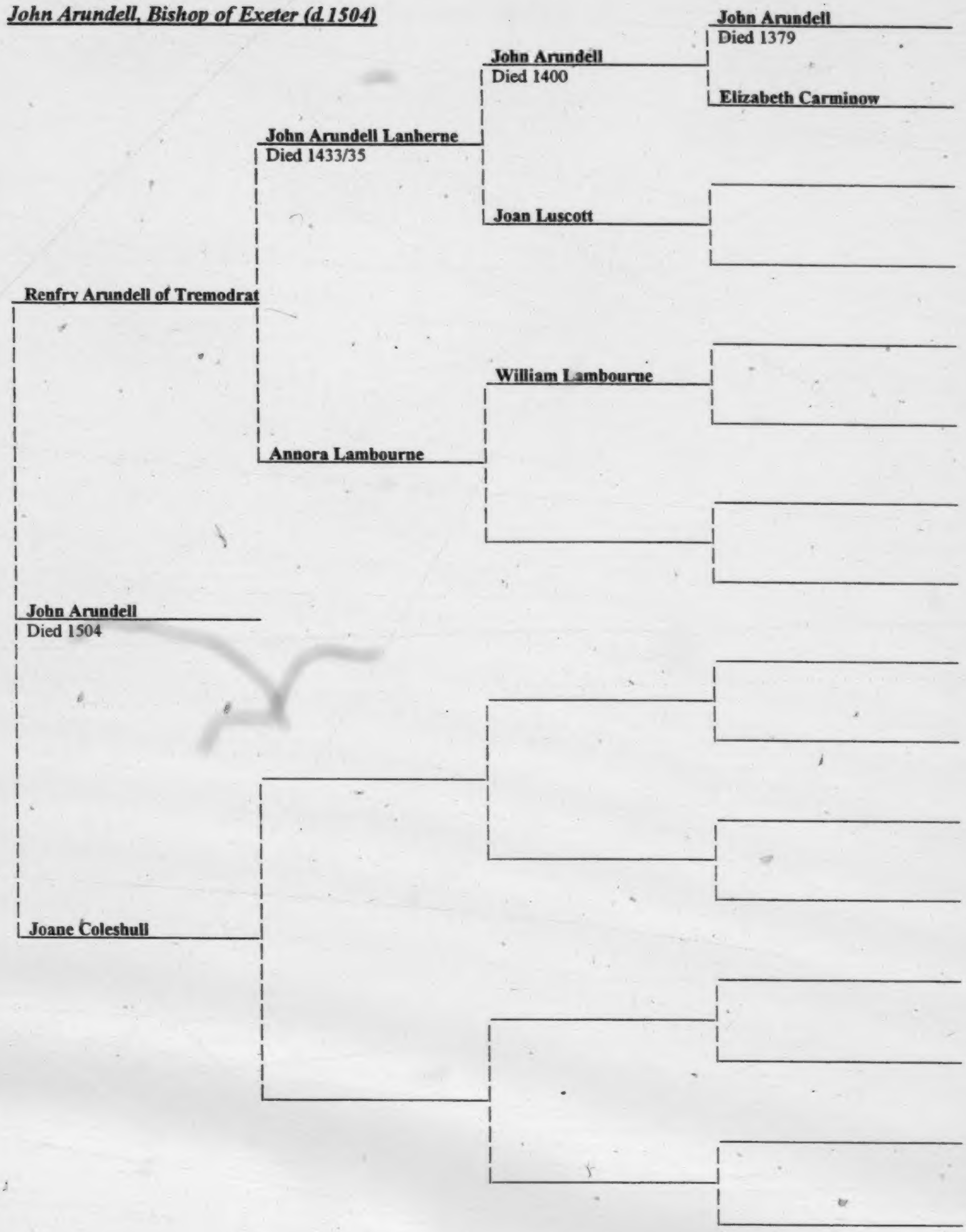
Children
Humphrey Arundell (c.1512/13-1550)
John Arundell
Johanna Arundell (born c. 1509)

Humphrey Arundell (1512/13-1550)

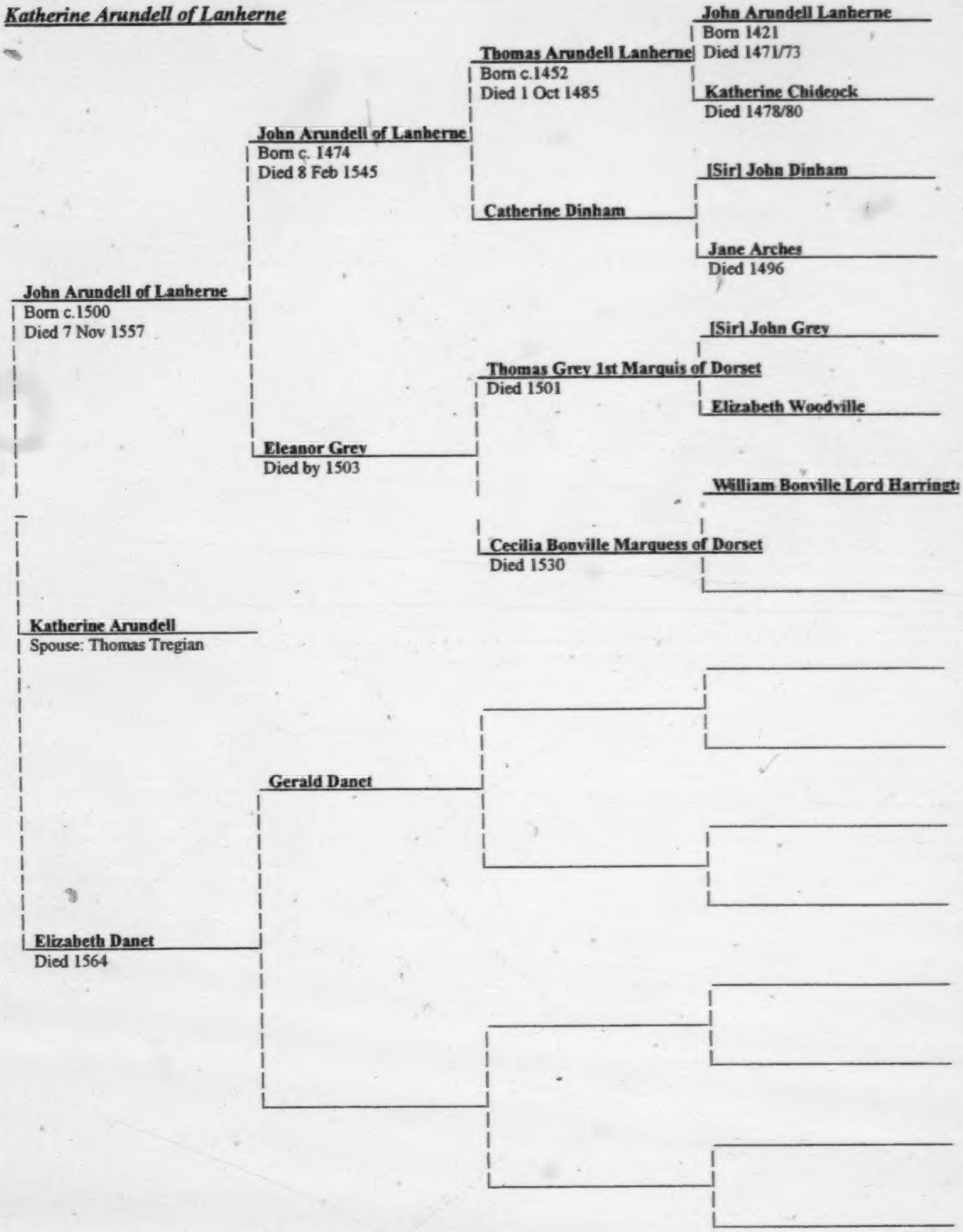

John Arundell of Bideford
Died 4 December 1423
John Arundell Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73
Margaret Burghersh
Thomas Arundell Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485
[Sir] John Chideock
Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80
Katherine
Roger Arundell of Helland
Died 12 June 1536
[Sir] John Dinham
Catherine Dinham
[Sir] Richard Arches
Jane Arches
Died 1496
Humphrey Arundell
Born 1512/13
Died 1550
Spouse: Elizabeth Fulford
Thomas Calwodely
Died 6 June 1492
Thomas Calwodely
Died 1480
Elizabeth Hatche
Humphrey Calwodely
Born c.1472
Elizabeth Collyn
Johanna Calwodely
Died 28 Sept 1537
Jane Carminowe

Children
Humphrey Arundell
Richard Arundell

John Arundell, Bishop of Exeter (d.1504)

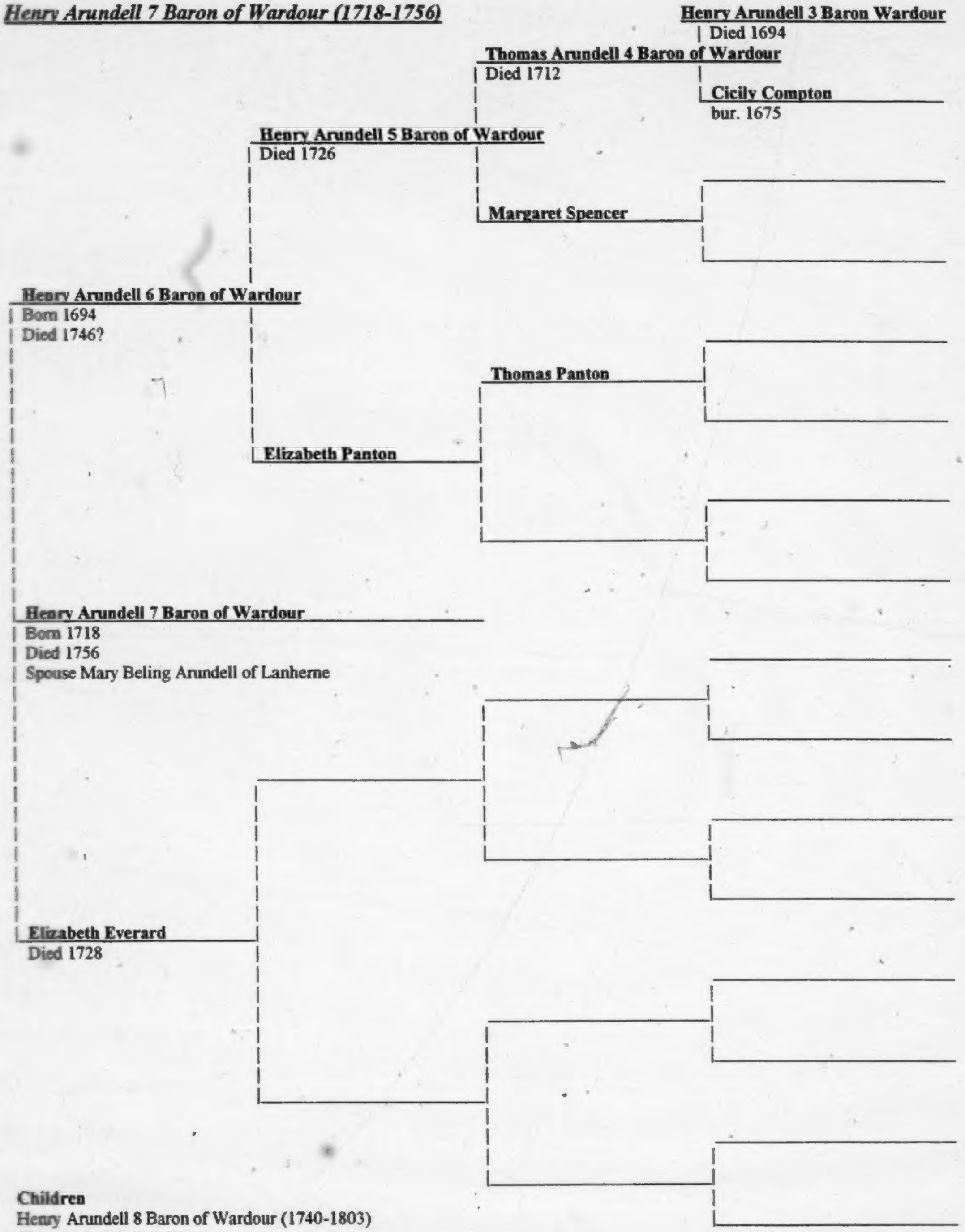

John Arundell
Died 1379
John Arundell
Died 1400
Elizabeth Carminow
John Arundell Lanherne
Died 1433/35
Joan Luscott
Renfry Arundell of Tremodrat
William Lambourne
Annora Lambourne
John Arundell
Died 1504
Joane Coleshull

Katherine Arundell of Lanherne


John Arundell Lanherne
Born 1421
Died 1471/73
Thomas Arundell Lanherne
Born c.1452
Died 1 Oct 1485
Katherine Chideock
Died 1478/80
John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c. 1474
Died 8 Feb 1545
[Sir] John Dinham
Catherine Dinham
Jane Arches
Died 1496
John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c.1500
Died 7 Nov 1557
[Sir] John Grey
Thomas Grey 1st Marquis of Dorset
Died 1501
Elizabeth Woodville
Eleanor Grey
Died by 1503
William Bonville Lord Harringt
Cecilia Bonville Marquess of Dorset
Died 1530
Katherine Arundell
Spouse: Thomas Tregian
Gerald Danet
Elizabeth Danet
Died 1564

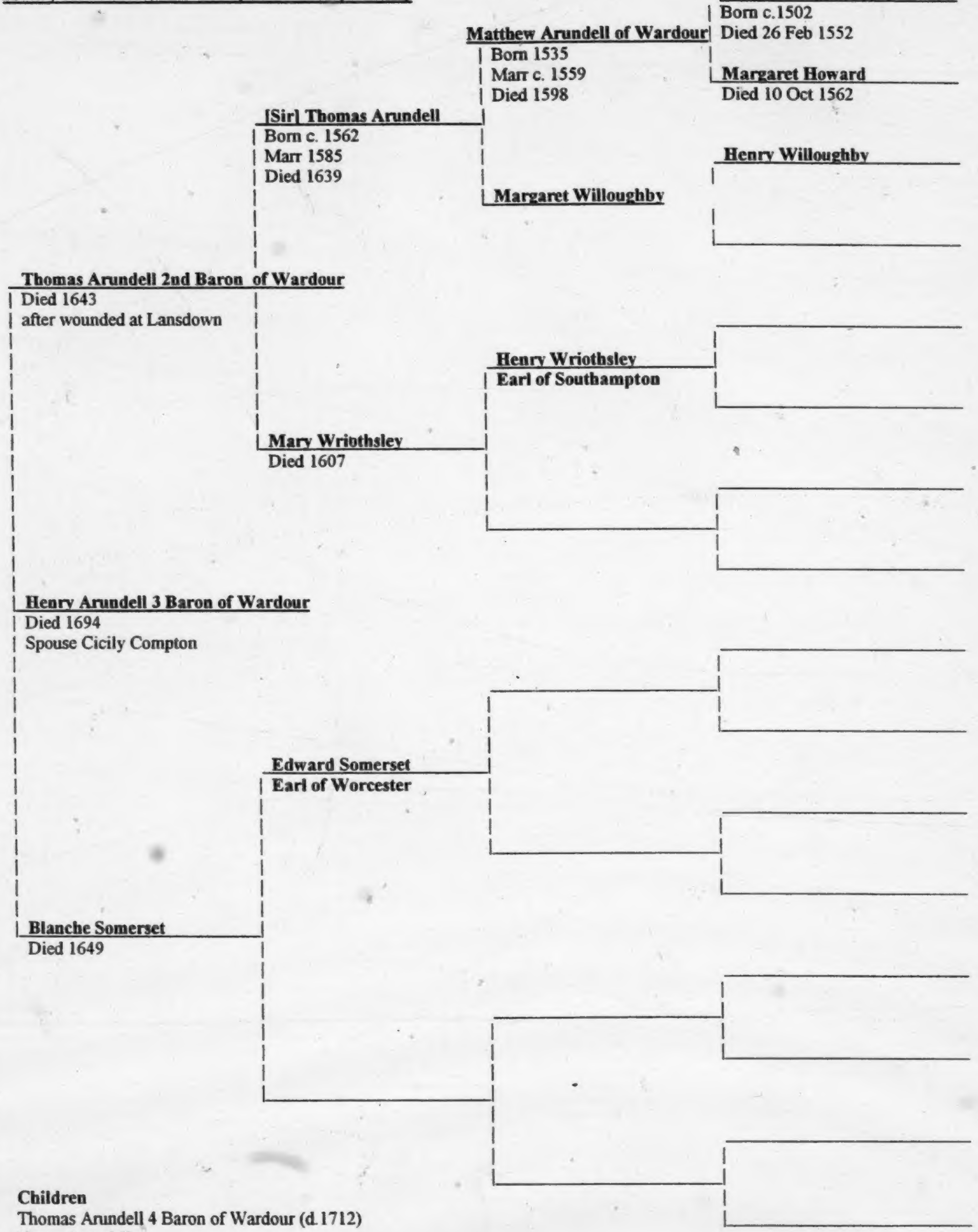
Children
Francis Tregian (1548-1608)

Henry Arundell 7 Baron of Wardour (1718-1756)


Henry Arundell 3 Baron Wardour
Died 1694
Thomas Arundell 4 Baron of Wardour
Died 1712
Cicily Compton
bur. 1675
Henry Arundell 5 Baron of Wardour
Died 1726
Margaret Spencer
Henry Arundell 6 Baron of Wardour
Born 1694
Died 1746?
Thomas Panton
Elizabeth Panton
Henry Arundell 7 Baron of Wardour
Born 1718
Died 1756
Spouse Mary Beling Arundell of Lanherne
Elizabeth Everard
Died 1728

Children
Henry Arundell 8 Baron of Wardour (1740-1803)
Thomas Arundell (d.1742)

Henry Arundell 3 Baron of Wardour (d.1694)



Thomas Arundell of Wardour
Born c.1502
Died 26 Feb 1552

Matthew Arundell of Wardour
Born 1535
Marr c. 1559
Died 1598

Margaret Howard
Died 10 Oct 1562

[Sir] Thomas Arundell
Born c. 1562
Marr 1585
Died 1639

Henry Willoughby

Margaret Willoughby

Thomas Arundell 2nd Baron of Wardour
Died 1643
after wounded at Lansdown

Henry Wriothsley
Earl of Southampton

Mary Wriothsley
Died 1607

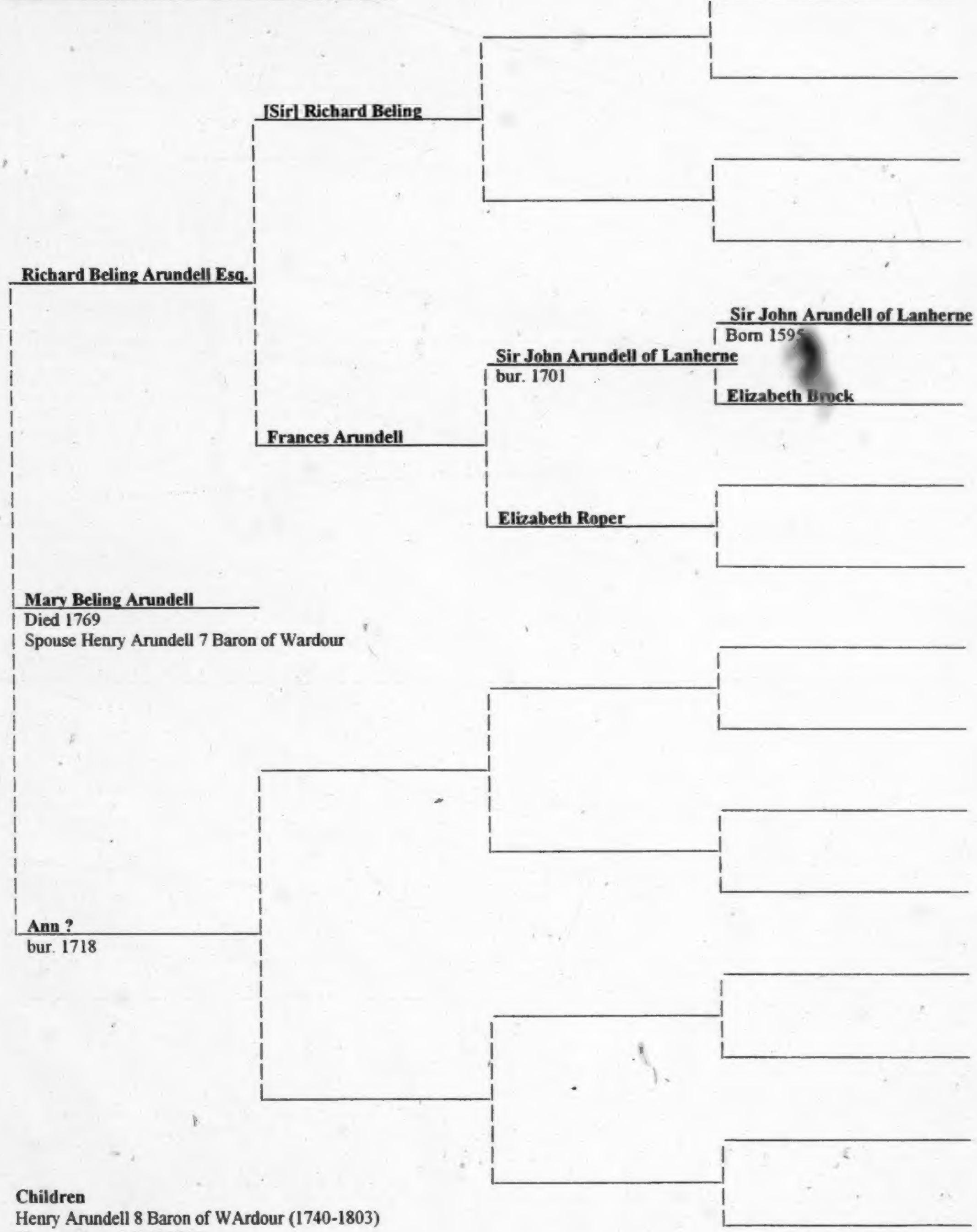
Henry Arundell 3 Baron of Wardour
Died 1694
Spouse Cicily Compton

Edward Somerset
Earl of Worcester

Blanche Somerset
Died 1649

Children
Thomas Arundell 4 Baron of Wardour (d.1712)
Henry Arundell
Cicily Arundell

Mary Beling Arundell of Lanherne (d.1769)



Richard Beling Arundell Esq.

[Sir] Richard Beling

Frances Arundell

Sir John Arundell of Lanherne
bur. 1701

Sir John Arundell of Lanherne
Born 1595

Elizabeth Brock

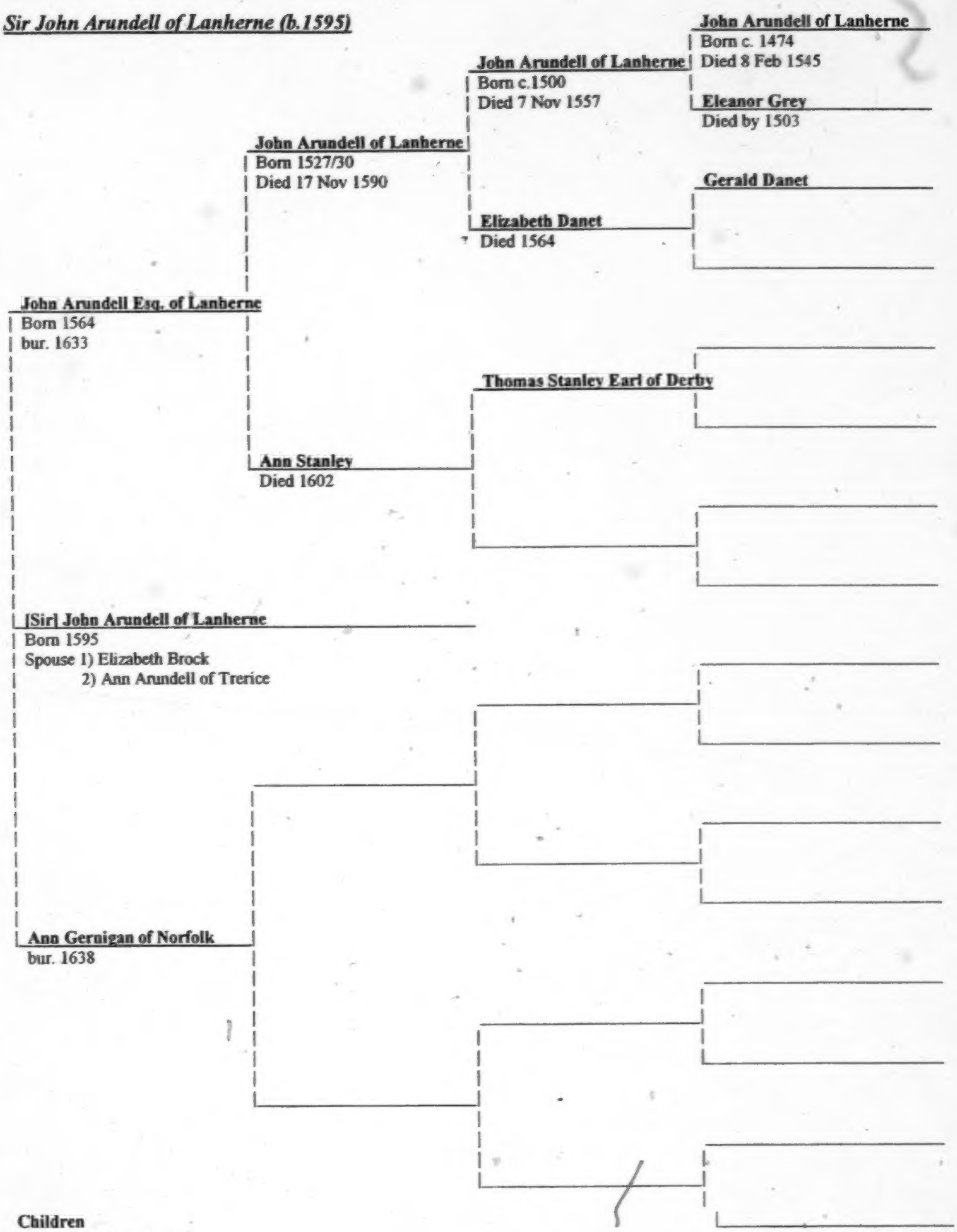
Elizabeth Roper

Mary Beling Arundell
Died 1769
Spouse Henry Arundell 7 Baron of Wardour

Ann ?
bur. 1718

Children
Henry Arundell 8 Baron of WArdour (1740-1803)
Thomas Arundell (d.1742)

Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (b.1595)


John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c. 1474
Died 8 Feb 1545
John Arundell of Lanherne
Born c.1500
Died 7 Nov 1557
Eleanor Grey
Died by 1503
John Arundell of Lanherne
Born 1527/30
Died 17 Nov 1590
Gerald Danet
Elizabeth Danet
Died 1564
John Arundell Esq. of Lanherne
Born 1564
bur. 1633
Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby
Ann Stanley
Died 1602
[Sir] John Arundell of Lanherne
Born 1595
Spouse 1) Elizabeth Brock
2) Ann Arundell of Trerice
Ann Gernigan of Norfolk
bur. 1638

Children

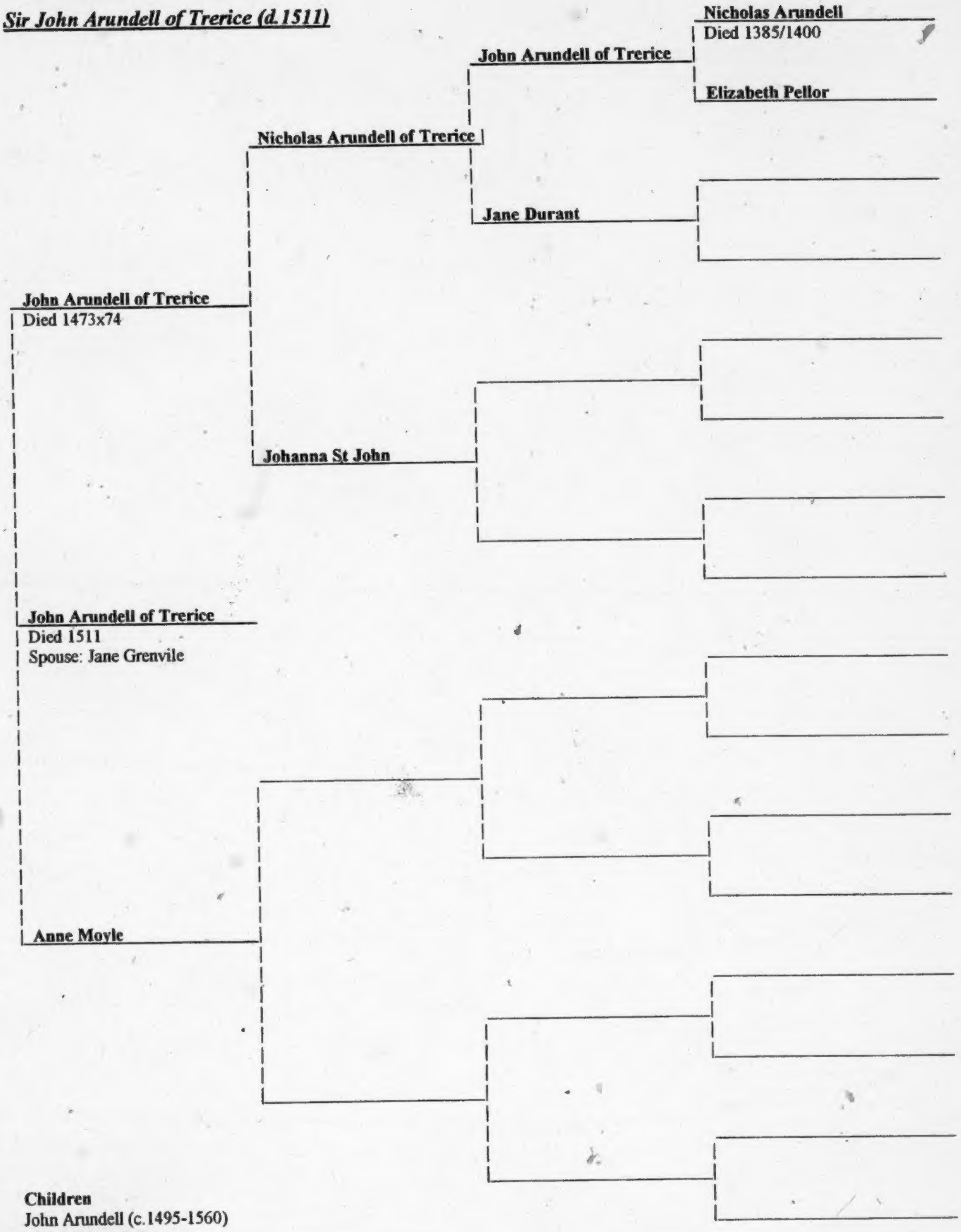
1) John Arundell (d.1701)

Appendix BT

Ancestry – Arundell of Trerice

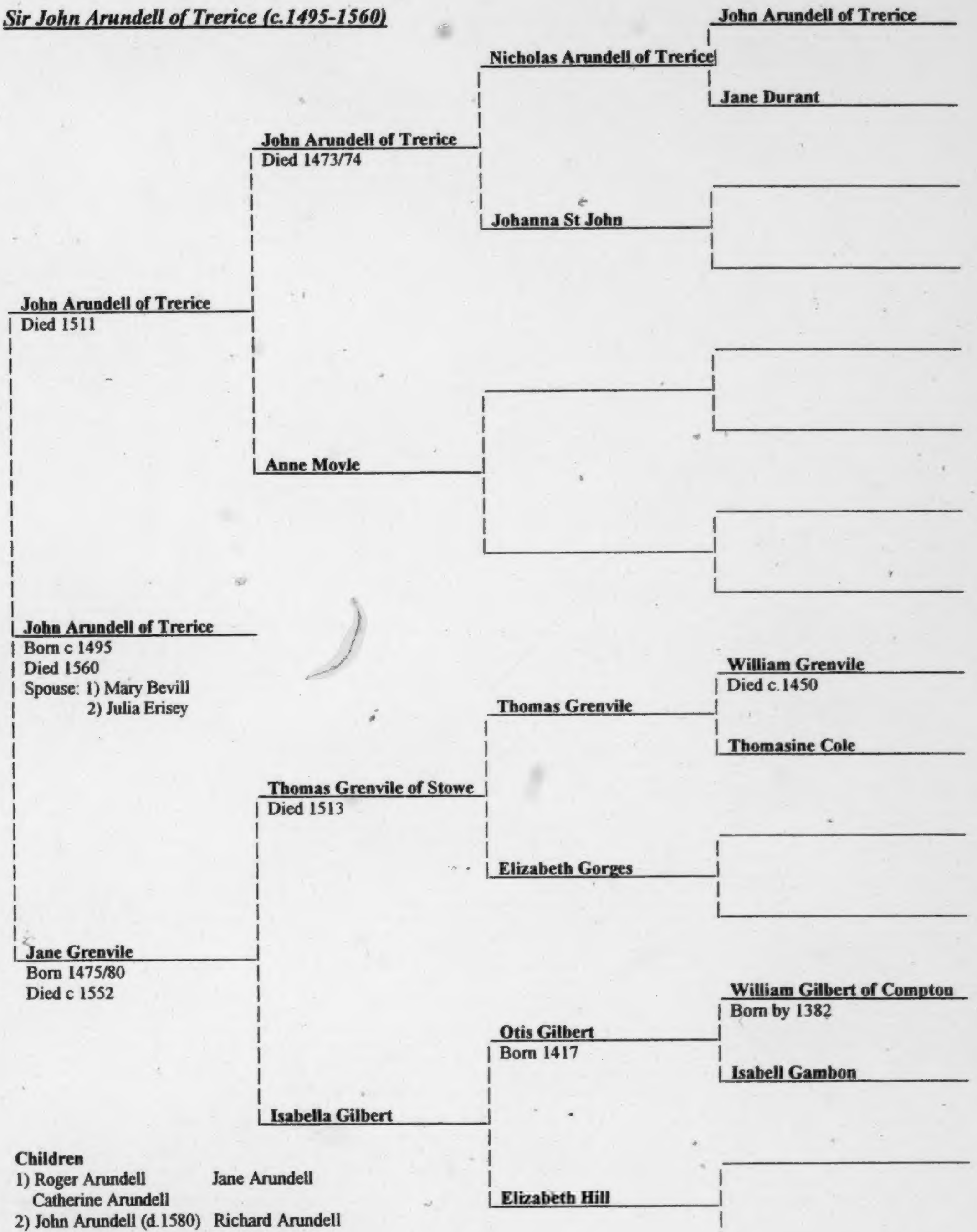
Sir John Arundell (d.1511) page 307
Sir John Arundell (d.1560) 308
John Arundell Esquire (d.1580) 309

Sir John Arundell of Trerice (d.1511)


Nicholas Arundell
Died 1385/1400
John Arundell of Trerice
Elizabeth Pellor
Nicholas Arundell of Trerice
Jane Durant
John Arundell of Trerice
Died 1473x74
Johanna St John
John Arundell of Trerice
Died 1511
Spouse: Jane Grenvile
Anne Moyle

Children
John Arundell (c.1495-1560)
Richard Arundell
Edward Arundell
Elizabeth Arundell

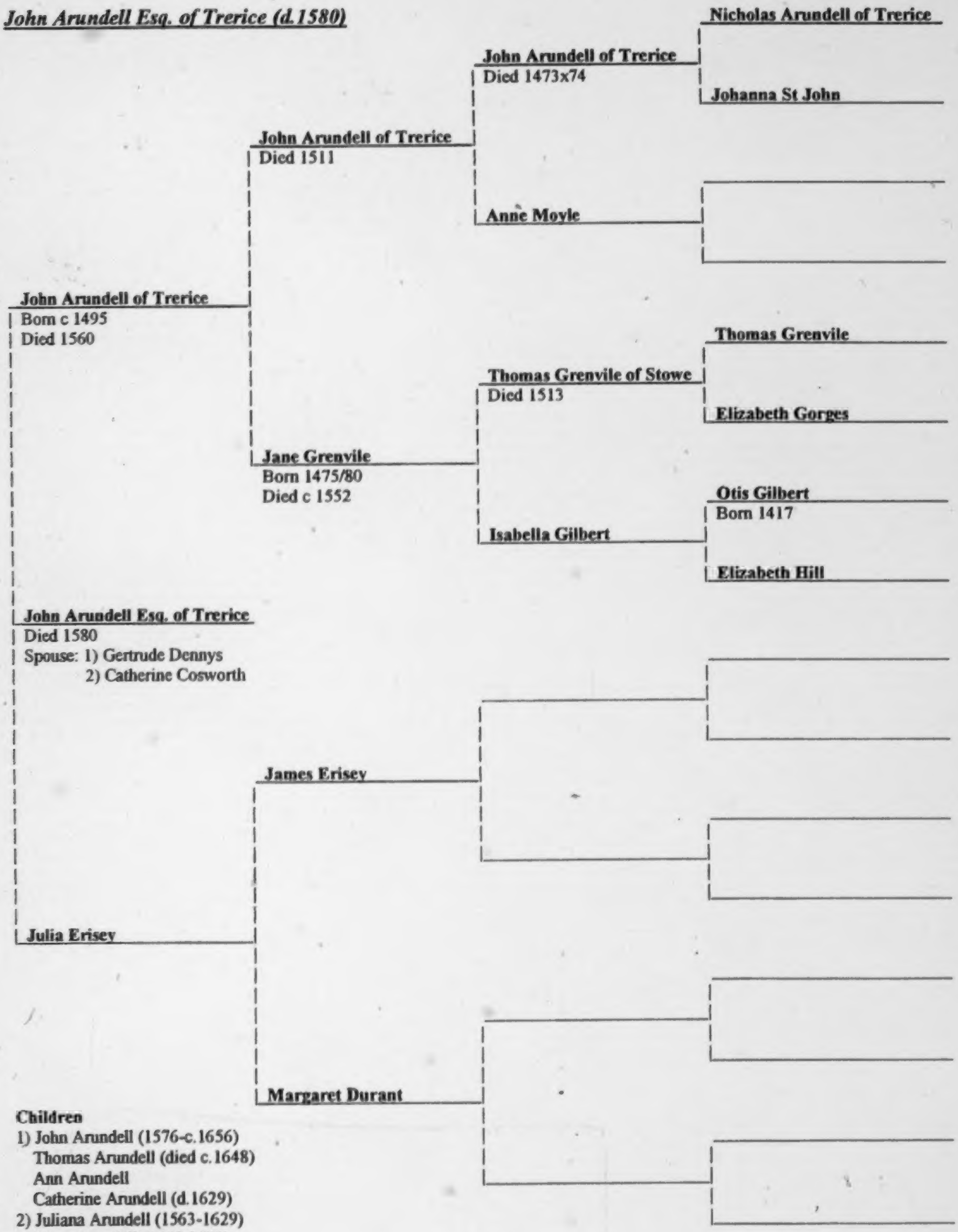
Sir John Arundell of Trerice (c.1495-1560)


John Arundell of Trerice
Nicholas Arundell of Trerice
Jane Durant
John Arundell of Trerice
Died 1473/74
Johanna St John
John Arundell of Trerice
Died 1511
Anne Moyle
John Arundell of Trerice
Born c 1495
Died 1560
Spouse: 1) Mary Bevill
2) Julia Erisey
William Grenvile
Died c.1450
Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Jane Grenvile
Born 1475/80
Died c 1552
William Gilbert of Compton
Born by 1382
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabell Gambon
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill

Children

1) Roger Arundell Jane Arundell
Catherine Arundell
2) John Arundell (d.1580) Richard Arundell
Margaret Arundell Mary Arundell
Joane Arundell Grace Arundell
Margery Arundell Phillipa Arundell Anne Arundell
3) Robert Arundell of Menadarva (illegitimate)

John Arundell Esq. of Trerice (d.1580)



Nicholas Arundell of Trerice
John Arundell of Trerice
Died 1473x74
Johanna St John
John Arundell of Trerice
Died 1511
Anne Moyle
John Arundell of Trerice
Born c 1495
Died 1560
Thomas Grenvile
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Jane Grenvile
Born 1475/80
Died c 1552
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill
John Arundell Esq. of Trerice
Died 1580
Spouse: 1) Gertrude Dennys
2) Catherine Cosworth
James Erisey
Julia Erisey
Margaret Durant

Children

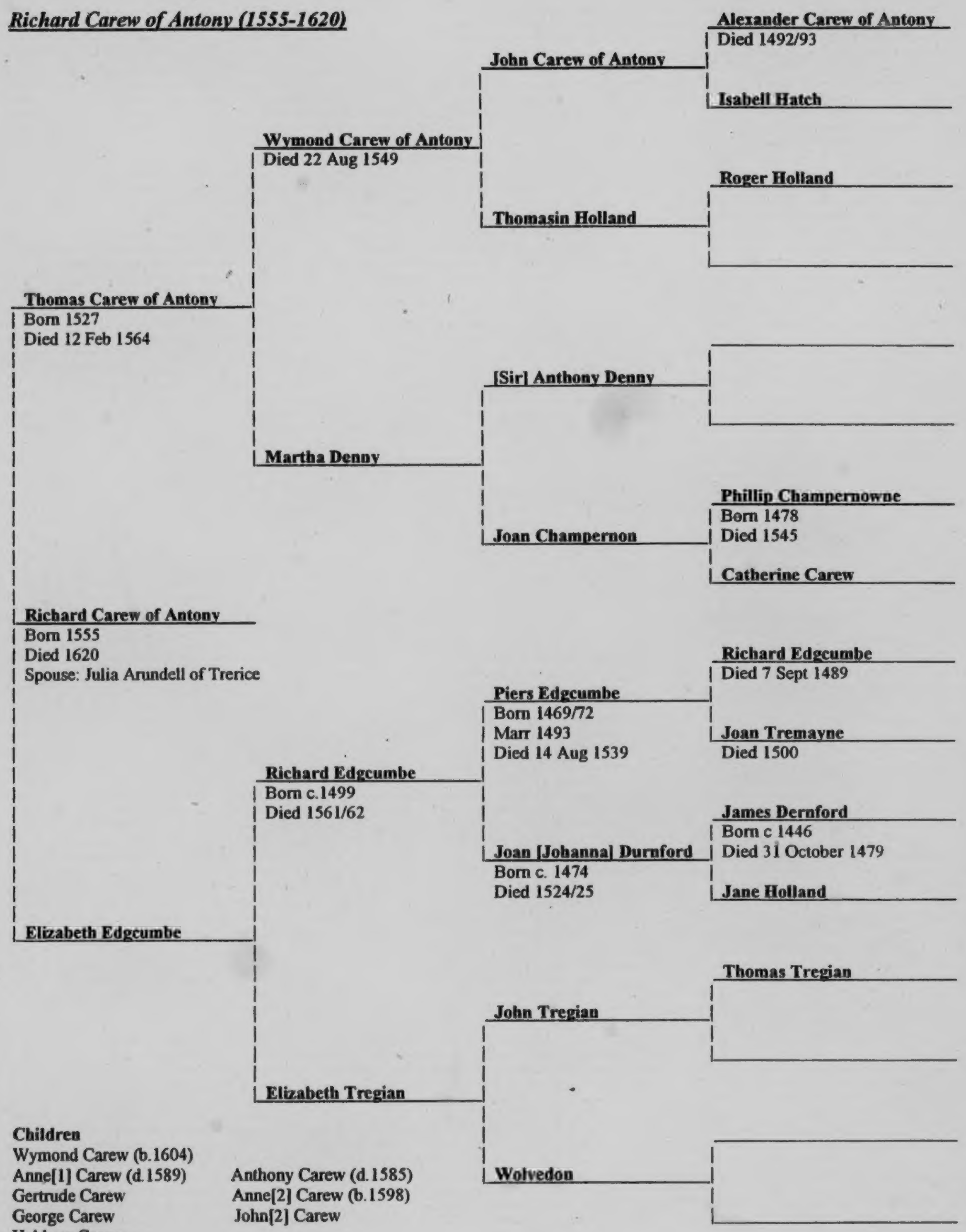
1) John Arundell (1576-c.1656)
Thomas Arundell (died c.1648)
Ann Arundell
Catherine Arundell (d.1629)
2) Juliana Arundell (1563-1629)
Alice Arundell (1564-1622)
Dorothy Arundell (b.1566)
Mary Arundell (1568-1633)

Appendix C

Ancestry - Carew

Richard Carew of Antony (d.1620) page 311
Sir Wymond Carew (d.1549) 312
Sir Peter Carew (d.1575) 313
Sir William Carew (d.1535/36) 314

Richard Carew of Antony (1555-1620)



Alexander Carew of Antony
Died 1492/93

John Carew of Antony

Isabell Hatch

Wymond Carew of Antony
Died 22 Aug 1549

Roger Holland

Thomasin Holland

Thomas Carew of Antony
Born 1527
Died 12 Feb 1564

[Sir] Anthony Denny

Martha Denny

Phillip Champernowne
Born 1478
Died 1545

Joan Champernon

Catherine Carew

Richard Carew of Antony
Born 1555
Died 1620
Spouse: Julia Arundell of Trerice

Richard Edgcumbe
Died 7 Sept 1489

Piers Edgcumbe
Born 1469/72
Marr 1493
Died 14 Aug 1539

Joan Tremayne
Died 1500

Richard Edgcumbe
Born c.1499
Died 1561/62

James Dernford
Born c 1446
Died 31 October 1479

Joan [Johanna] Durnford
Born c. 1474
Died 1524/25

Jane Holland

Elizabeth Edgcumbe

Thomas Tregian

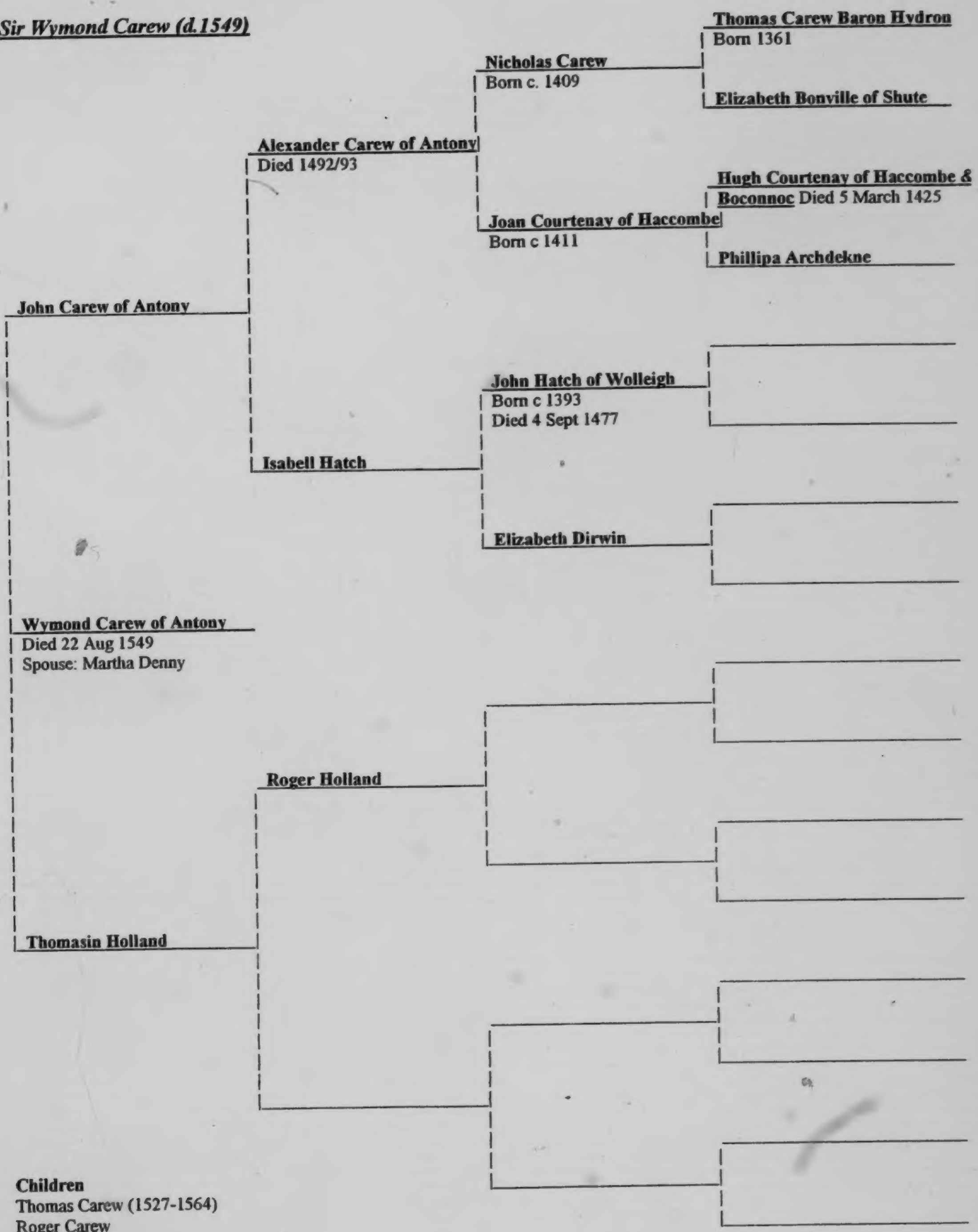
John Tregian

Elizabeth Tregian

Wolvedon

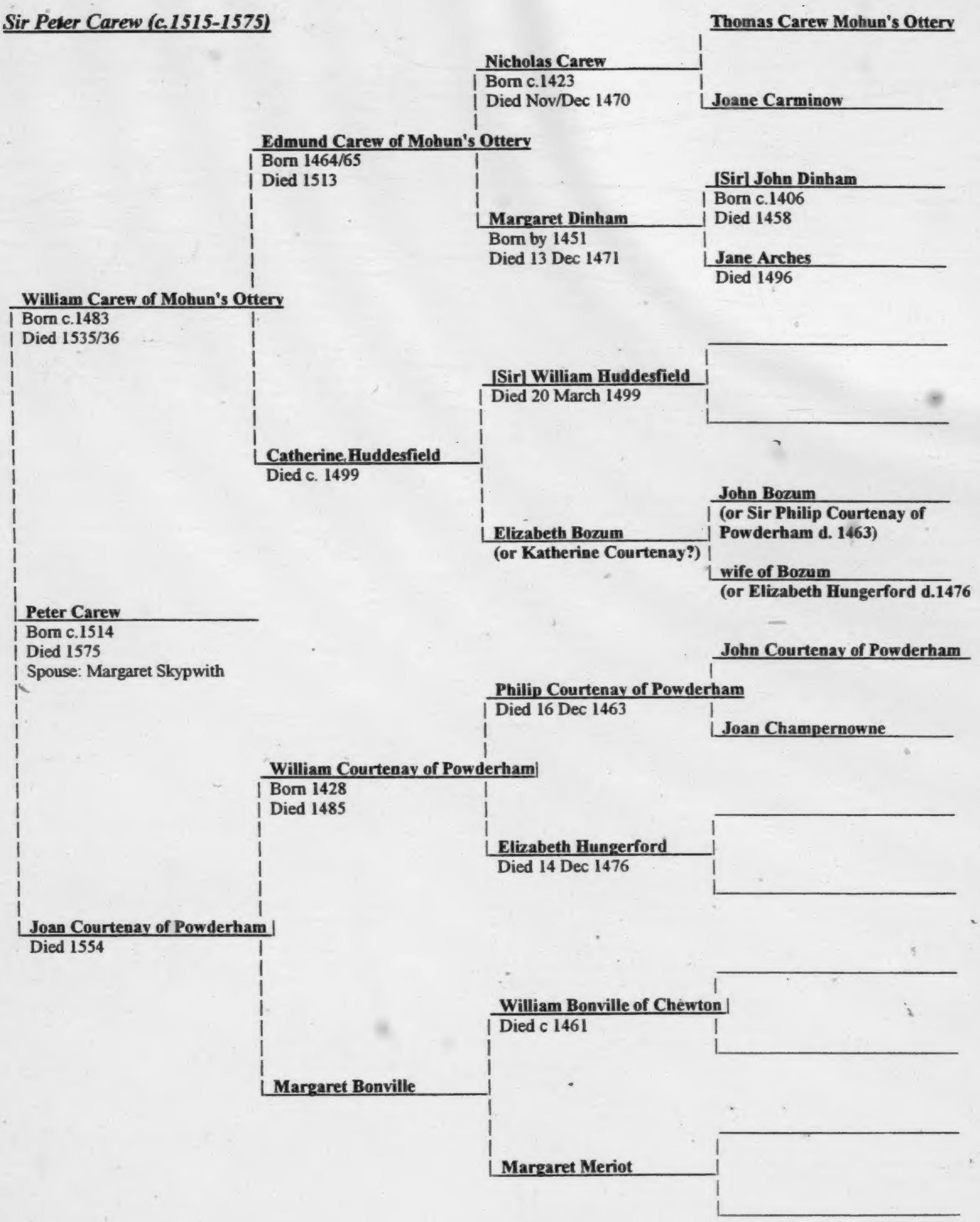
Children
Wymond Carew (b.1604)
Anne[1] Carew (d.1589)
Gertrude Carew
George Carew
Hoblyne Carew
John[1] Carew
Richard Carew (d.1643)
Anthony Carew (d.1585)
Anne[2] Carew (b.1598)
John[2] Carew

Sir Wymond Carew (d.1549)

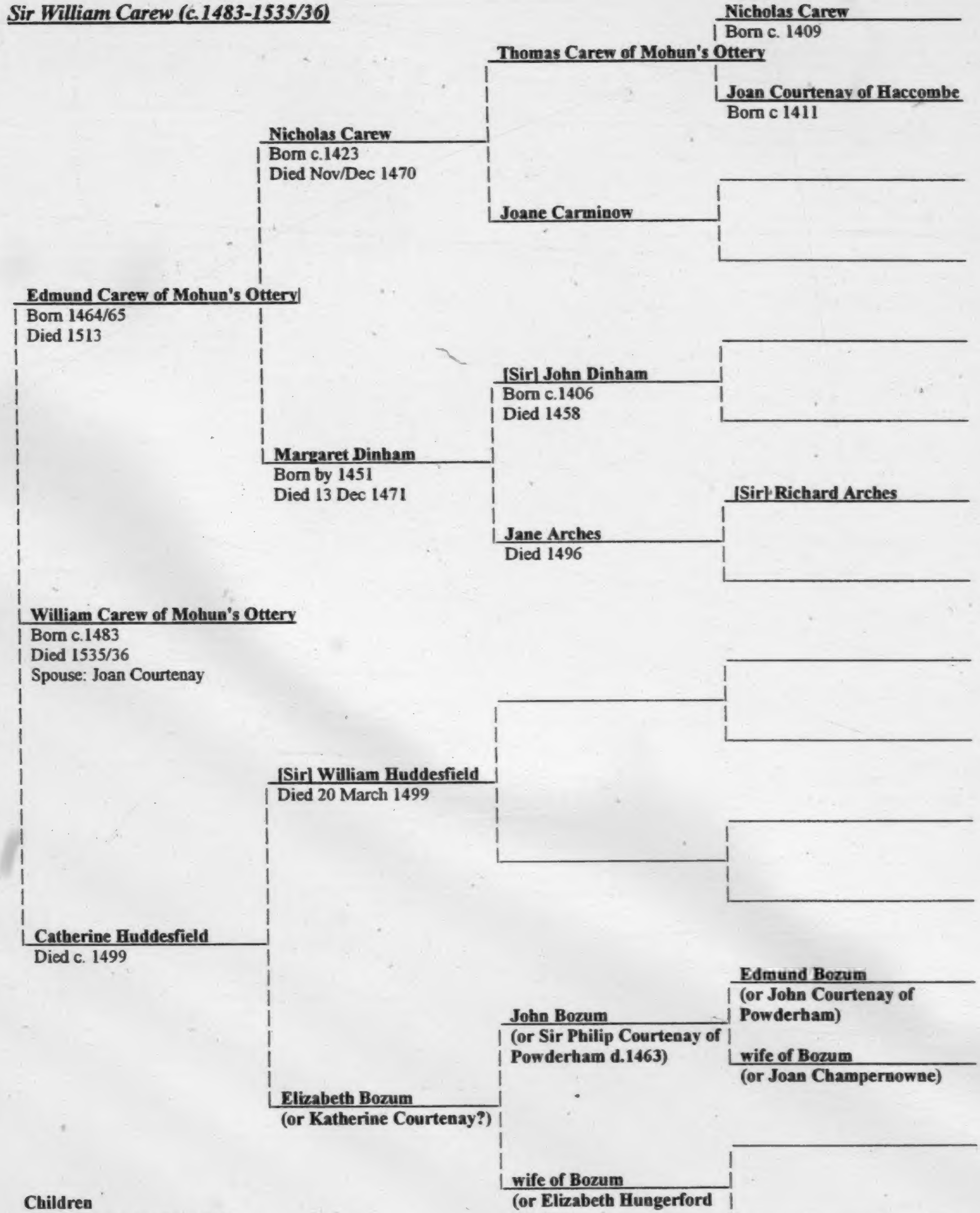

Thomas Carew Baron Hydron
Born 1361
Nicholas Carew
Born c. 1409
Elizabeth Bonville of Shute
Alexander Carew of Antony
Died 1492/93
Hugh Courtenay of Haccombe & Boconnoc Died 5 March 1425
Joan Courtenay of Haccombe
Born c 1411
Phillipa Archdekne
John Carew of Antony
John Hatch of Wolleigh
Born c 1393
Died 4 Sept 1477
Isabell Hatch
Elizabeth Dirwin
Wymond Carew of Antony
Died 22 Aug 1549
Spouse: Martha Denny
Roger Holland
Thomasin Holland

Children
Thomas Carew (1527-1564)
Roger Carew
John Carew
Antony Carew
Harvy Carew

Sir Peter Carew (c.1515-1575)


Thomas Carew Mohun's Ottery
Nicholas Carew
Born c.1423
Died Nov/Dec 1470
Joane Carminow
Edmund Carew of Mohun's Ottery
Born 1464/65
Died 1513
[Sir] John Dinham
Born c.1406
Died 1458
Margaret Dinham
Born by 1451
Died 13 Dec 1471
Jane Arches
Died 1496
William Carew of Mohun's Ottery
Born c.1483
Died 1535/36
[Sir] William Huddesfield
Died 20 March 1499
Catherine Huddesfield
Died c. 1499
John Bozum
(or Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham d. 1463)
Elizabeth Bozum
(or Katherine Courtenay?)
wife of Bozum
(or Elizabeth Hungerford d.1476
Peter Carew
Born c.1514
Died 1575
Spouse: Margaret Skypwith
John Courtenay of Powderham
Philip Courtenay of Powderham
Died 16 Dec 1463
Joan Champernowne
William Courtenay of Powderham
Born 1428
Died 1485
Elizabeth Hungerford
Died 14 Dec 1476
Joan Courtenay of Powderham
Died 1554
William Bonville of Chewton
Died c 1461
Margaret Bonville
Margaret Meriot

Sir William Carew (c.1483-1535/36)



Nicholas Carew
Born c. 1409
Thomas Carew of Mohun's Ottery
Joan Courtenay of Haccombe
Born c 1411
Nicholas Carew
Born c.1423
Died Nov/Dec 1470
Joane Carminow
Edmund Carew of Mohun's Ottery
Born 1464/65
Died 1513
[Sir] John Dinham
Born c.1406
Died 1458
Margaret Dinham
Born by 1451
Died 13 Dec 1471
[Sir] Richard Arches
Jane Arches
Died 1496
William Carew of Mohun's Ottery
Born c.1483
Died 1535/36
Spouse: Joan Courtenay
[Sir] William Huddesfield
Died 20 March 1499
Catherine Huddesfield
Died c. 1499
Edmund Bozum
(or John Courtenay of Powderham)
John Bozum
(or Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham d.1463)
wife of Bozum
(or Joan Champernowne)
Elizabeth Bozum
(or Katherine Courtenay?)
wife of Bozum
(or Elizabeth Hungerford d.1476)

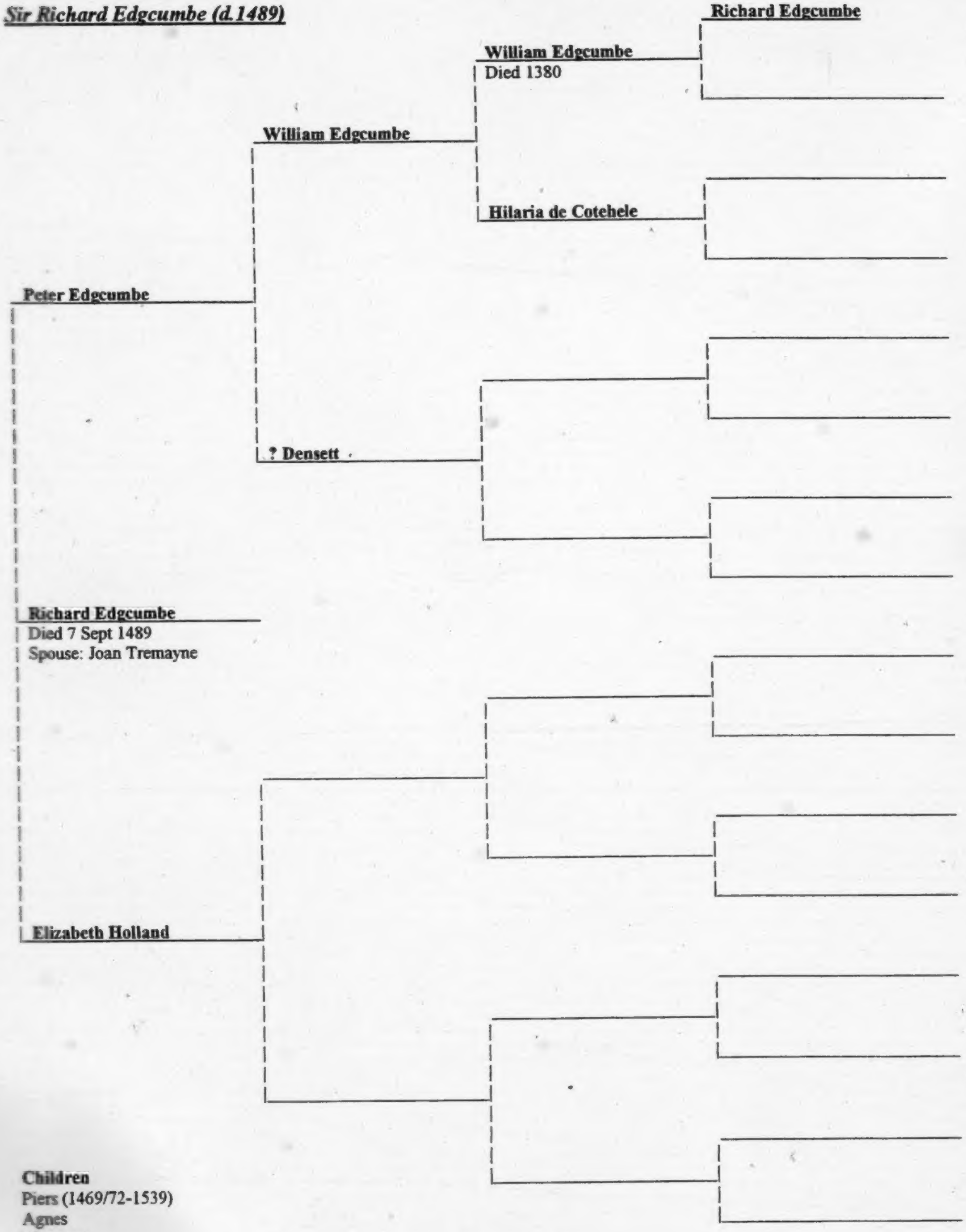
Children
George Carew (c.1505-1545)
Cicily Carew
Philip Carew
Peter Carew (c.1514-1575)

Appendix D

Ancestry - Edgcumbe

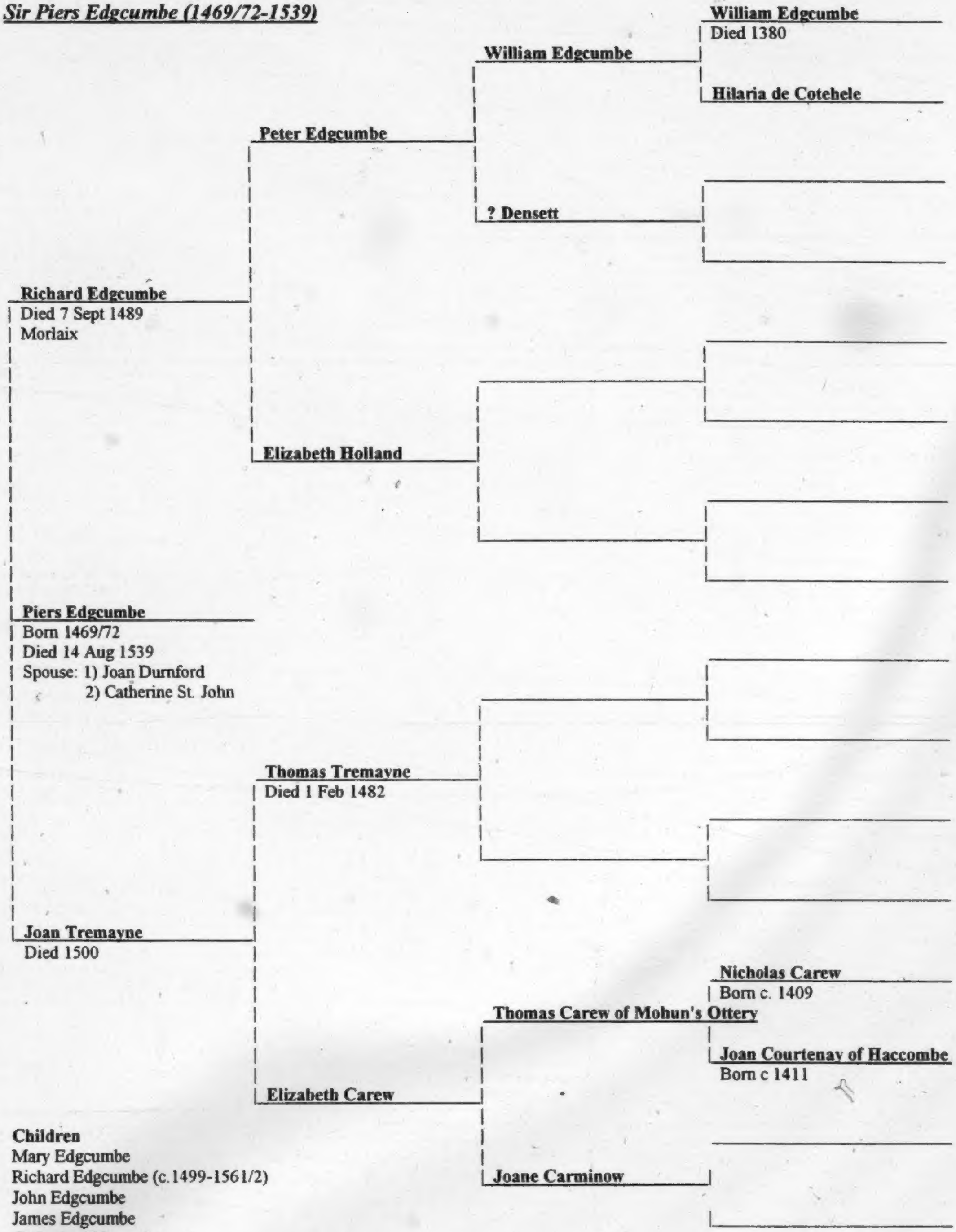
Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1489) page 316
Sir Piers Edgcumbe (d.1539) 317
Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1561/62) 318
Anne Edgcumbe 319

Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1489)


Richard Edgcumbe
William Edgcumbe
Died 1380
William Edgcumbe
Hilaria de Cotehele
Peter Edgcumbe
? Densett
Richard Edgcumbe
Died 7 Sept 1489
Spouse: Joan Tremayne
Elizabeth Holland

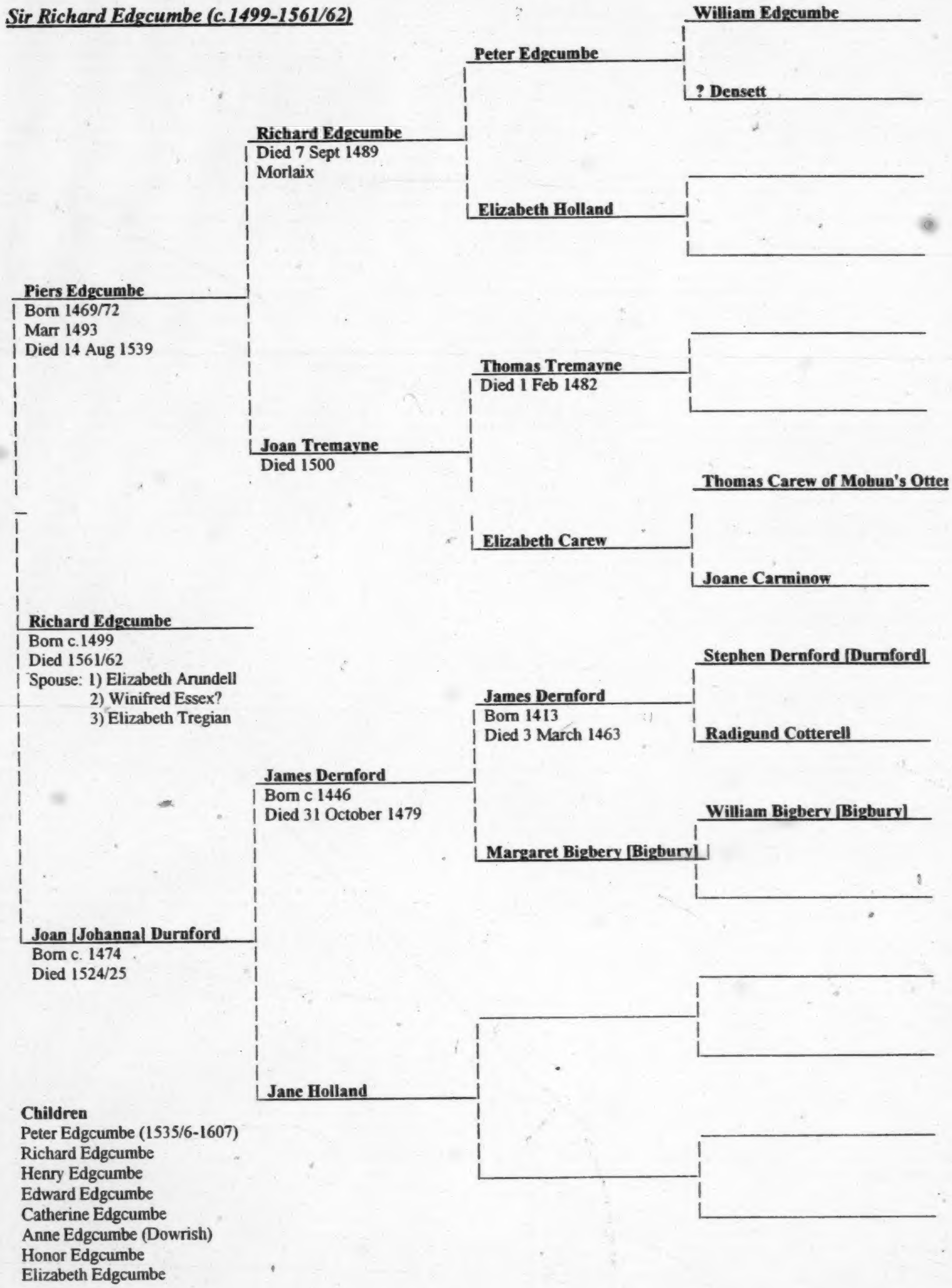
Children
Piers (1469/72-1539)
Agnes
Margaret
Elizabeth
Joan

Sir Piers Edgcumbe (1469/72-1539)


William Edgcumbe
Died 1380
William Edgcumbe
Hilaria de Cotehele
Peter Edgcumbe
? Densett
Richard Edgcumbe
Died 7 Sept 1489
Morlaix
Elizabeth Holland
Piers Edgcumbe
Born 1469/72
Died 14 Aug 1539
Spouse: 1) Joan Durnford
2) Catherine St. John
Thomas Tremayne
Died 1 Feb 1482
Joan Tremayne
Died 1500
Nicholas Carew
Born c. 1409
Thomas Carew of Mohun's Ottery
Joan Courtenay of Haccombe
Born c 1411
Elizabeth Carew
Joane Carminow

Children
Mary Edgcumbe
Richard Edgcumbe (c.1499-1561/2)
John Edgcumbe
James Edgcumbe
Catherine Edgcumbe
Jane Edgcumbe
Ann Edgcumbe

Sir Richard Edgcumbe (c.1499-1561/62)



William Edgcumbe

Peter Edgcumbe

? Densett

Richard Edgcumbe
Died 7 Sept 1489
Morlaix

Elizabeth Holland

Piers Edgcumbe
Born 1469/72
Marr 1493
Died 14 Aug 1539

Thomas Tremayne
Died 1 Feb 1482

Joan Tremayne
Died 1500

Thomas Carew of Mohun's Otter

Elizabeth Carew

Joane Carminow

Richard Edgcumbe
Born c.1499
Died 1561/62
Spouse: 1) Elizabeth Arundell
2) Winifred Essex?
3) Elizabeth Tregian

Stephen Dernford [Durnford]

James Dernford
Born 1413
Died 3 March 1463

Radigund Cotterell

James Dernford
Born c 1446
Died 31 October 1479

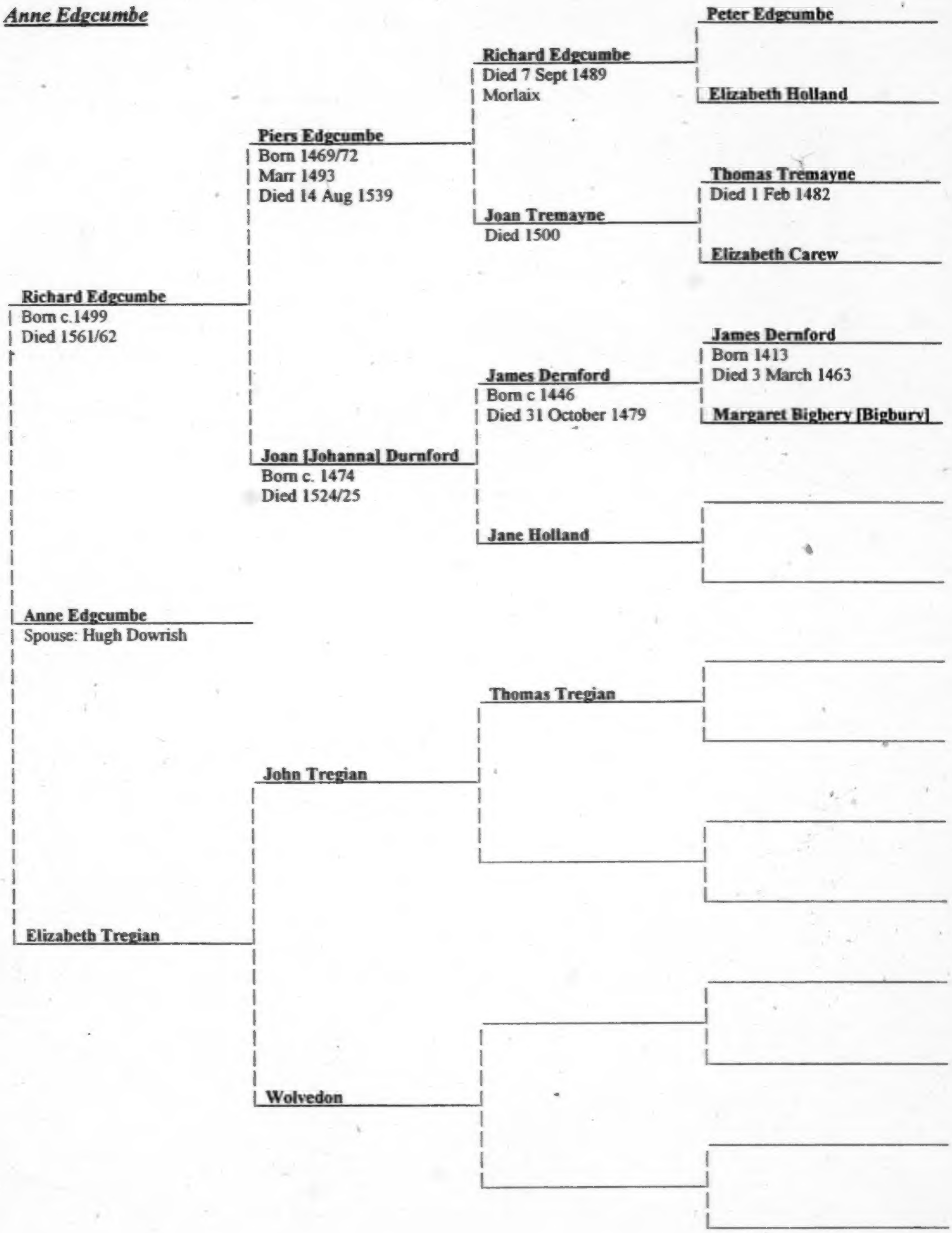
William Bigbery [Bigbury]

Margaret Bigbery [Bigbury]

Joan [Johanna] Durnford
Born c. 1474
Died 1524/25

Jane Holland

Children
Peter Edgcumbe (1535/6-1607)
Richard Edgcumbe
Henry Edgcumbe
Edward Edgcumbe
Catherine Edgcumbe
Anne Edgcumbe (Dowrish)
Honor Edgcumbe
Elizabeth Edgcumbe



Anne Edgcumbe

Peter Edgcumbe

Richard Edgcumbe
Died 7 Sept 1489
Morlaix

Elizabeth Holland

Piers Edgcumbe
Born 1469/72
Marr 1493
Died 14 Aug 1539

Thomas Tremayne
Died 1 Feb 1482

Joan Tremayne
Died 1500

Elizabeth Carew

Richard Edgcumbe
Born c.1499
Died 1561/62

James Dernford
Born 1413
Died 3 March 1463

James Dernford
Born c 1446
Died 31 October 1479

Margaret Bigbery [Bigbury]

Joan [Johanna] Durnford
Born c. 1474
Died 1524/25

Jane Holland

Anne Edgcumbe
Spouse: Hugh Dowrish

Thomas Tregian

John Tregian

Elizabeth Tregian

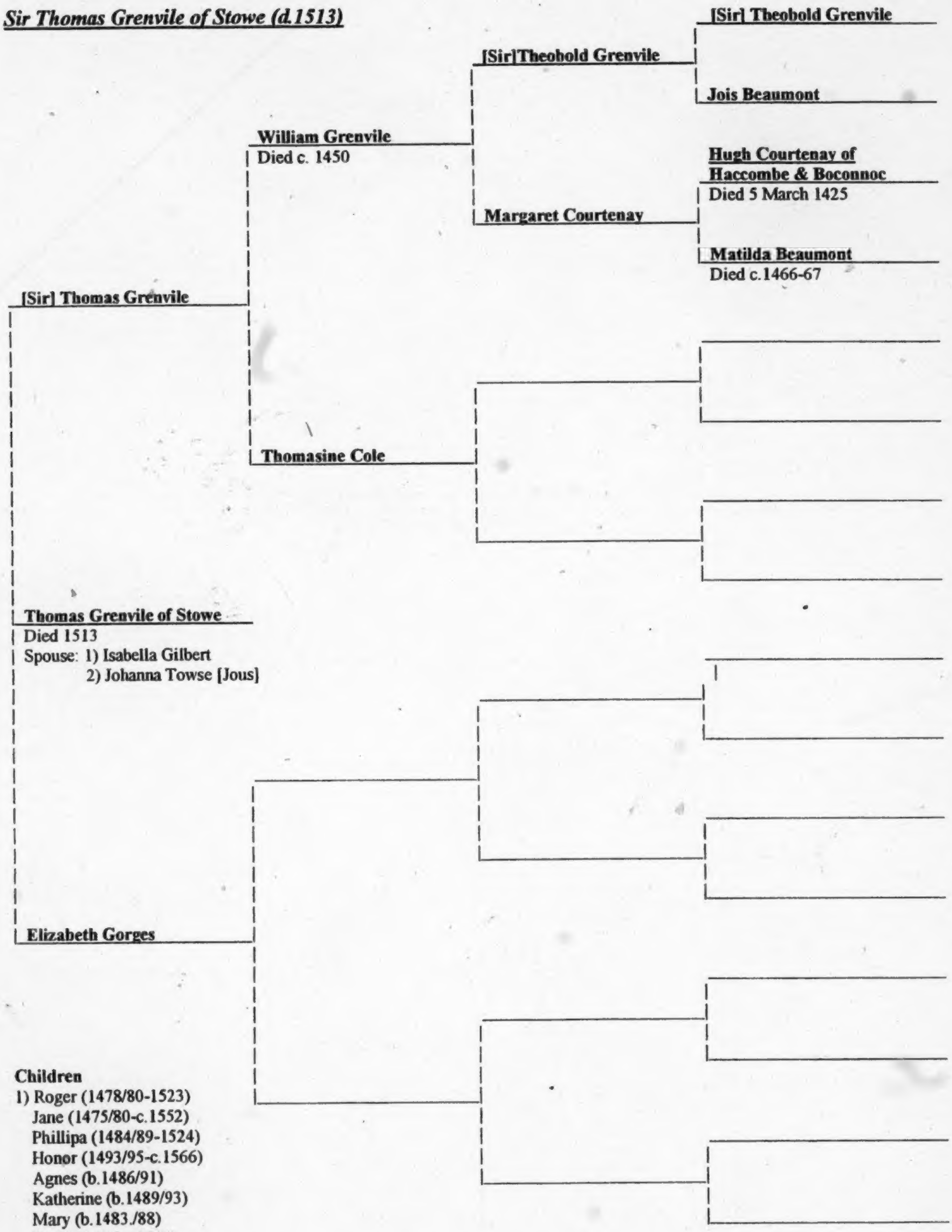
Wolvedon

Appendix E

Ancestry - Grenvile

Sir Thomas Grenvile (d.1513)	page	321
Jane Grenvile (d.1552)		322
Katherine Grenvile (b.1489/93)		323
Roger Grenvile (d.1523)		324
Phillipa Grenvile (d.1524?)		325
Honor Grenvile (d.1566)		326
Agnes Grenvile (b.1486/91)		327
Mary Grenvile (b.1483-88)		328
Richard Grenvile (d. by 1514)		329
Sir Richard Grenvile (d.1550)		330
Roger Grenvile (d.1545)		331
Sir Richard Grenvile (d.1591)		332
John Grenvile (d.1580)		333

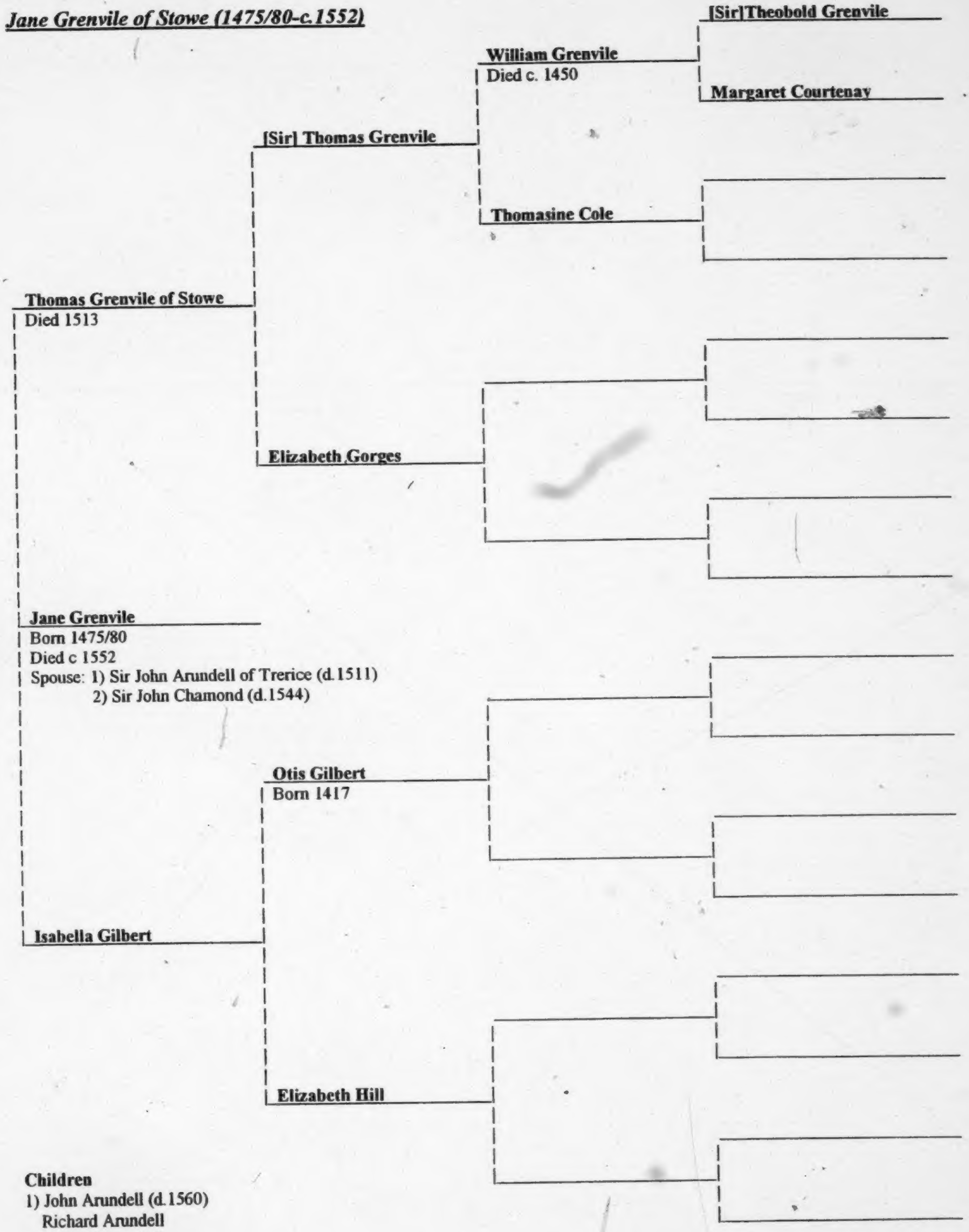
Sir Thomas Grenvile of Stowe (d.1513)


[Sir] Theobold Grenvile
[Sir]Theobold Grenvile
Jois Beaumont
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Hugh Courtenay of Haccombe & Boconnoc
Died 5 March 1425
Margaret Courtenay
Matilda Beaumont
Died c.1466-67
[Sir] Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Spouse: 1) Isabella Gilbert
2) Johanna Towse [Jous]
Elizabeth Gorges

Children

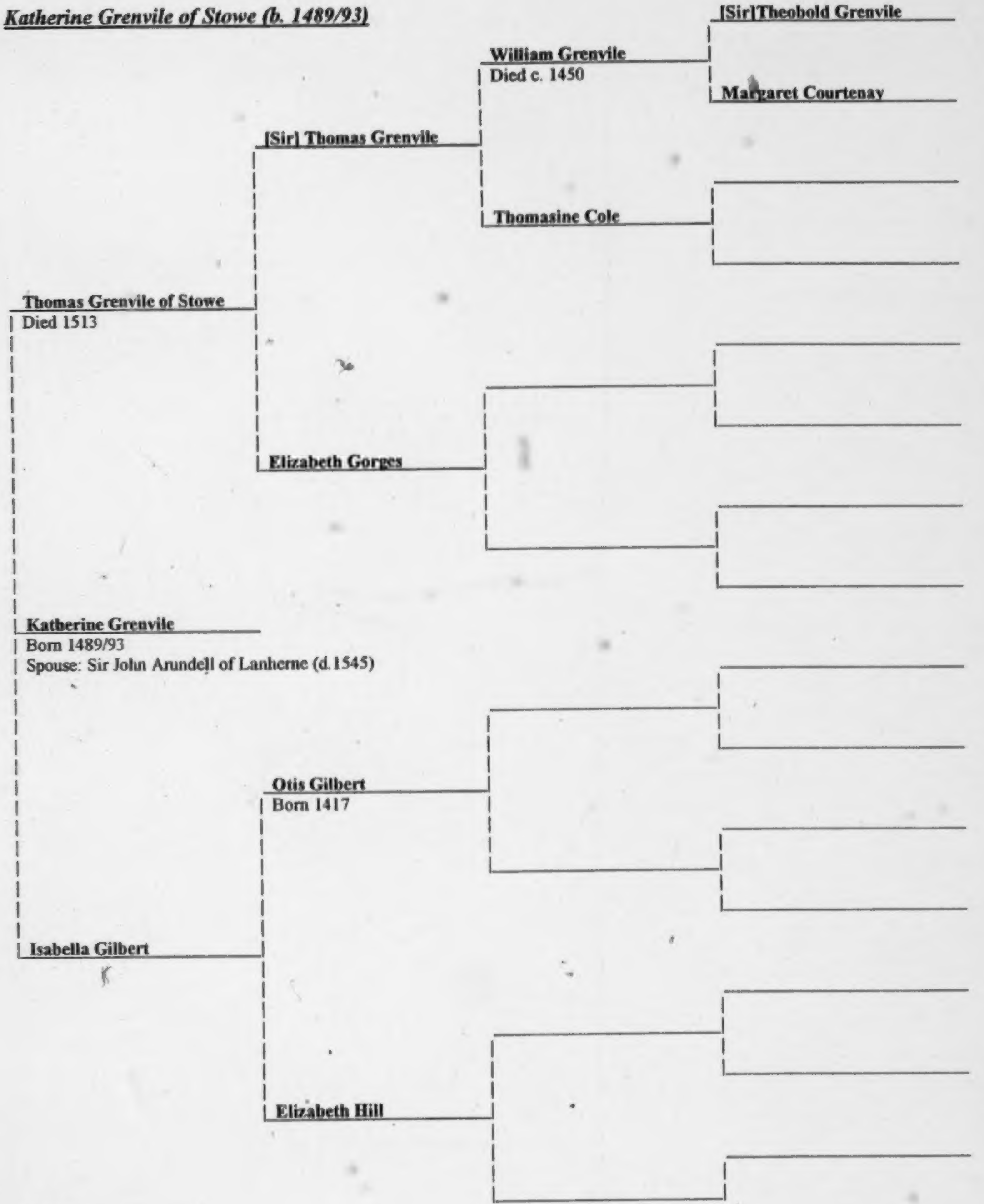
1) Roger (1478/80-1523)
   Jane (1475/80-c.1552)
   Phillipa (1484/89-1524)
   Honor (1493/95-c.1566)
   Agnes (b.1486/91)
   Katherine (b.1489/93)
   Mary (b.1483./88)
   Richard (d. by 1514)
2) John (d.1580)
   Jane

Jane Grenvile of Stowe (1475/80-c.1552)


[Sir]Theobold Grenvile
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Margaret Courtenay
[Sir] Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Jane Grenvile
Born 1475/80
Died c 1552
Spouse: 1) Sir John Arundell of Trerice (d.1511)
2) Sir John Chamond (d.1544)
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill

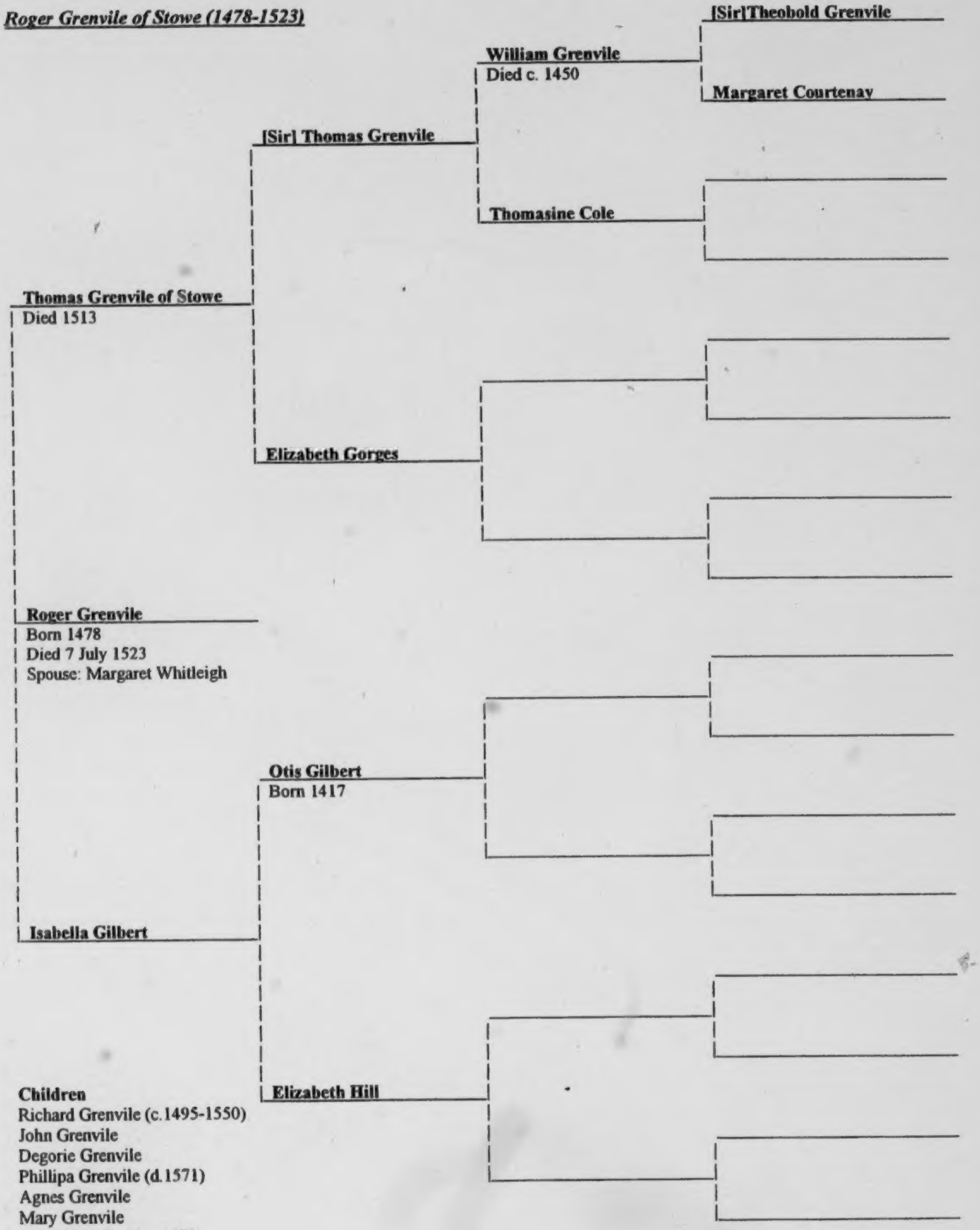
Children
1) John Arundell (d.1560)
Richard Arundell
Edward Arundell
Elizabeth Arundell
2) Richard Chamond (d.1599)

Katherine Grenvile of Stowe (b. 1489/93)


[Sir]Theobold Grenvile
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Margaret Courtenay
[Sir] Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Katherine Grenvile
Born 1489/93
Spouse: Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1545)
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill

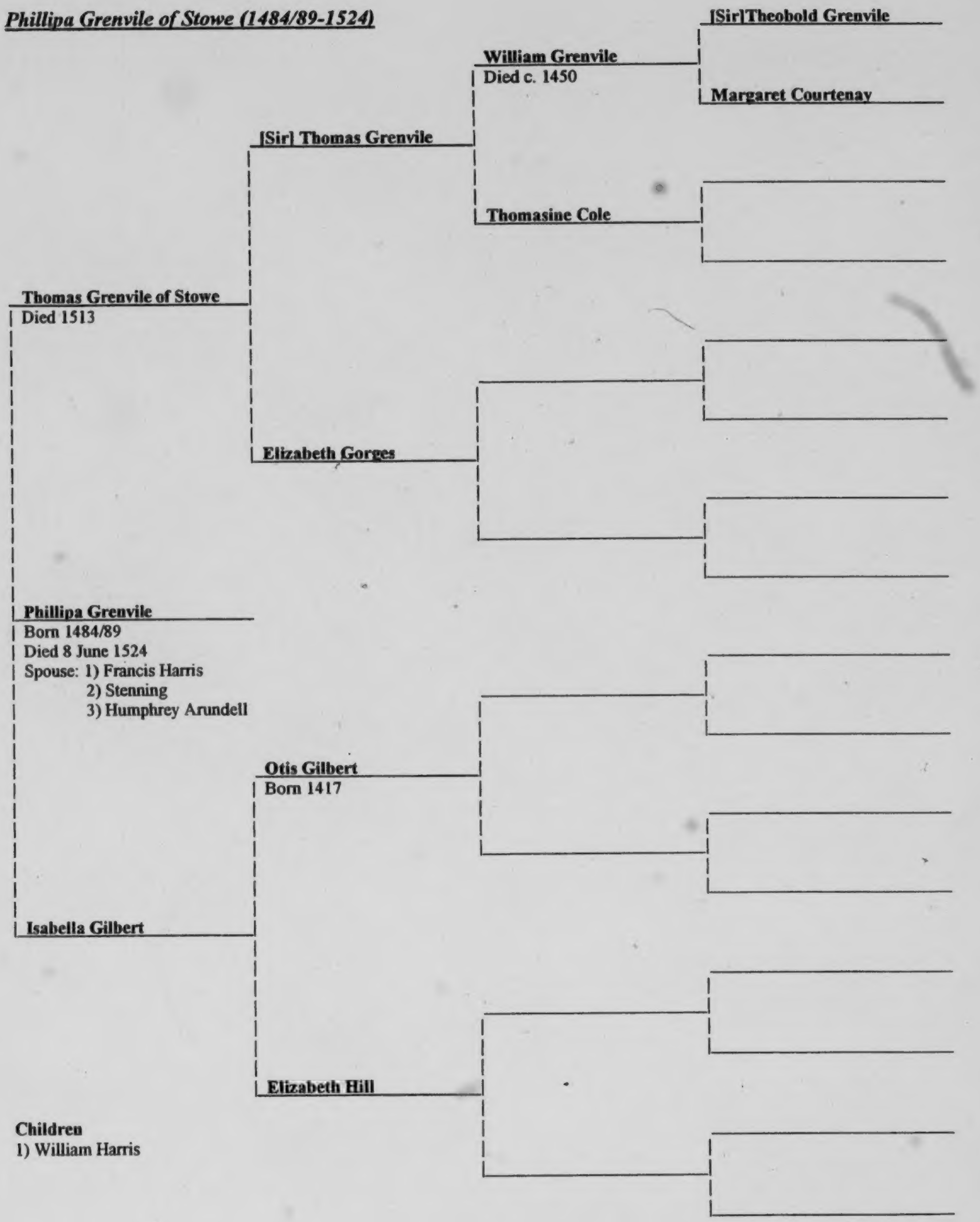
Children
Mary Arundell (d.1557)

Roger Grenvile of Stowe (1478-1523)


[Sir]Theobold Grenvile
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Margaret Courtenay
[Sir] Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Roger Grenvile
Born 1478
Died 7 July 1523
Spouse: Margaret Whitleigh
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill

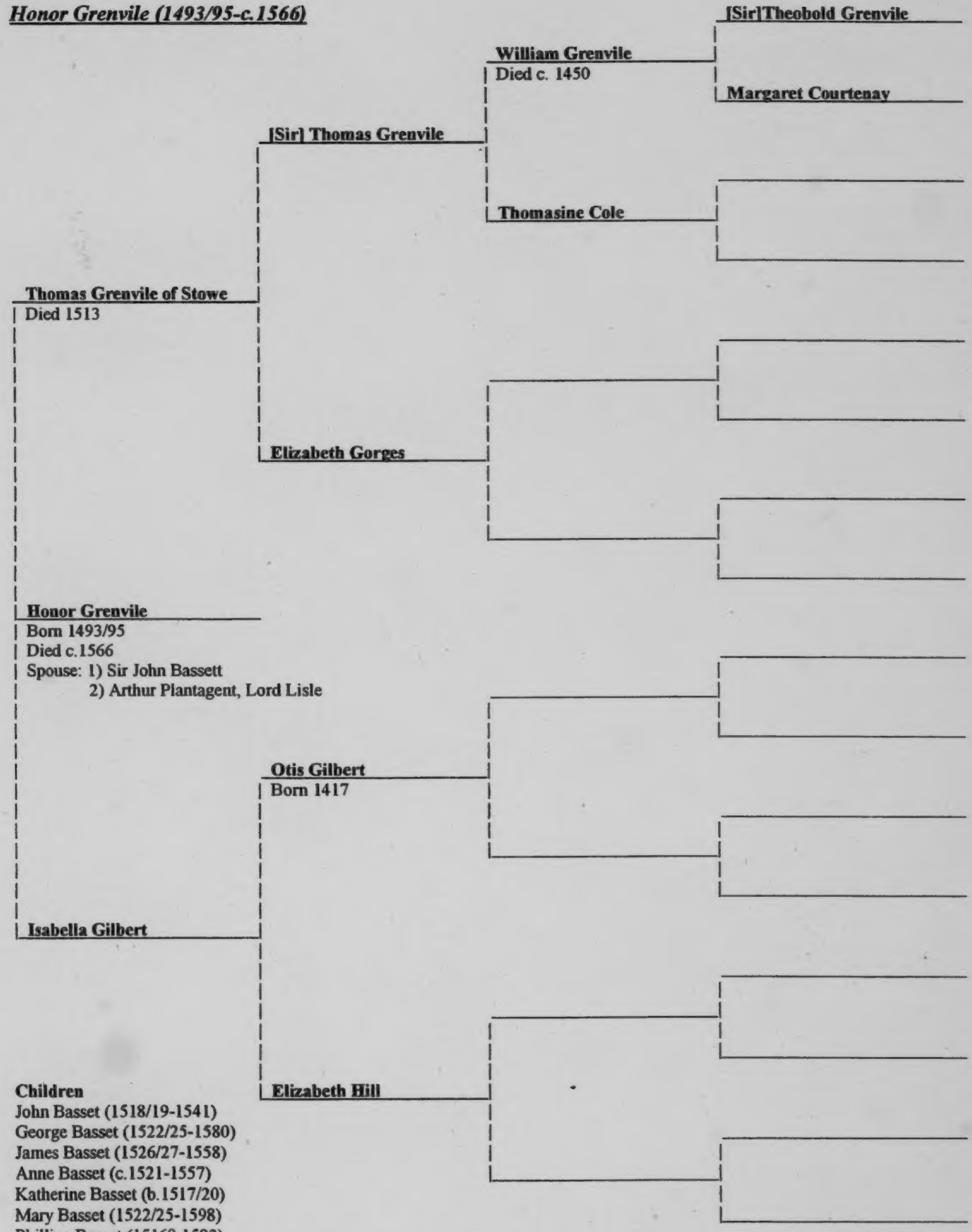
Children
Richard Grenvile (c.1495-1550)
John Grenvile
Degorie Grenvile
Phillipa Grenvile (d.1571)
Agnes Grenvile
Mary Grenvile
Amy Grenvile (d. c.1578)
Christian Grenvile
Jane Grenvile

Phillipa Grenvile of Stowe (1484/89-1524)


[Sir]Theobold Grenvile
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Margaret Courtenay
[Sir] Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Phillipa Grenvile
Born 1484/89
Died 8 June 1524
Spouse: 1) Francis Harris
2) Stenning
3) Humphrey Arundell
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill

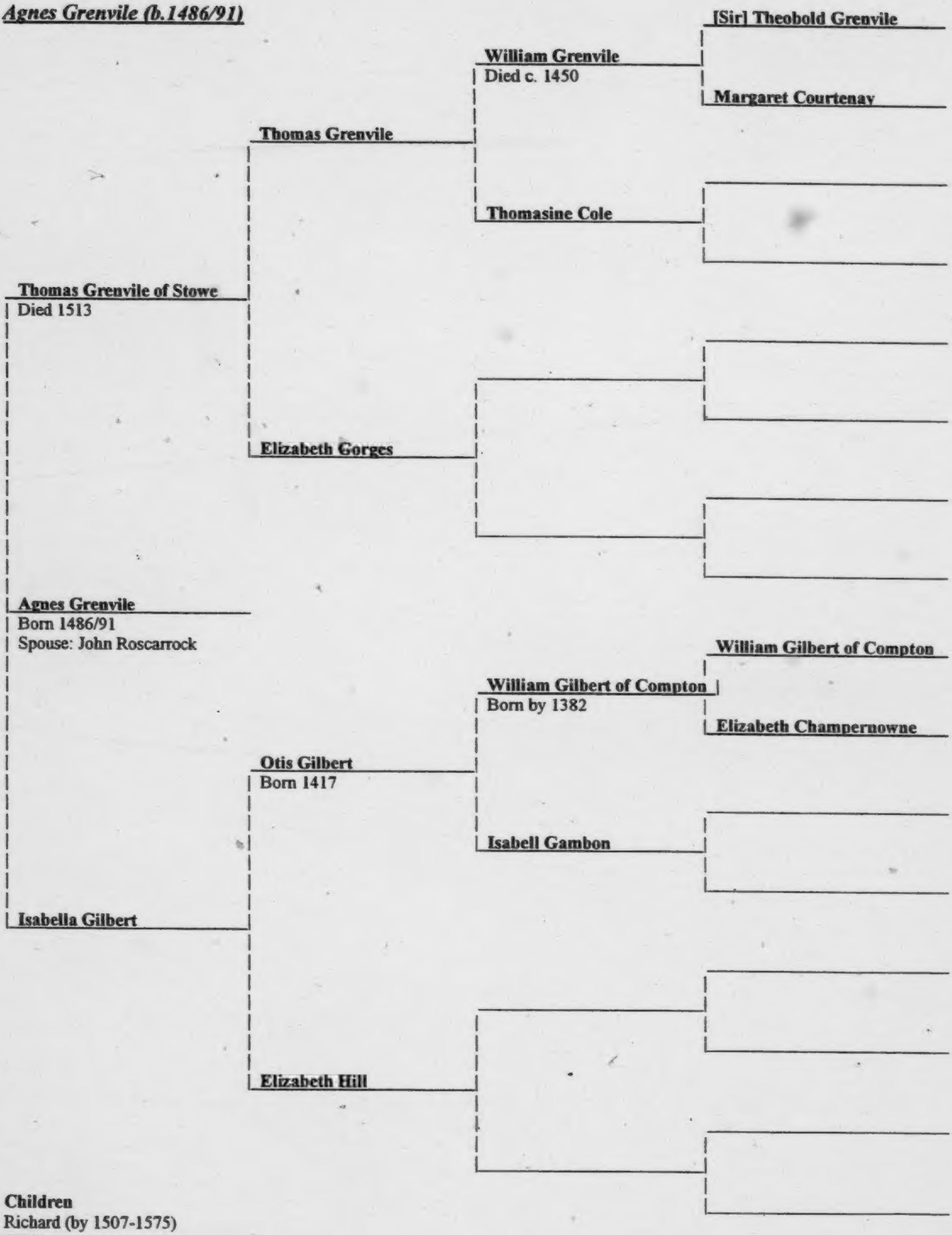
Children
1) William Harris

Honor Grenvile (1493/95-c.1566)


[Sir]Theobold Grenvile
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Margaret Courtenay
[Sir] Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Honor Grenvile
Born 1493/95
Died c.1566
Spouse: 1) Sir John Bassett
2) Arthur Plantagent, Lord Lisle
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill

Children
John Basset (1518/19-1541)
George Basset (1522/25-1580)
James Basset (1526/27-1558)
Anne Basset (c.1521-1557)
Katherine Basset (b.1517/20)
Mary Basset (1522/25-1598)
Phillipa Basset (1516?-1582)

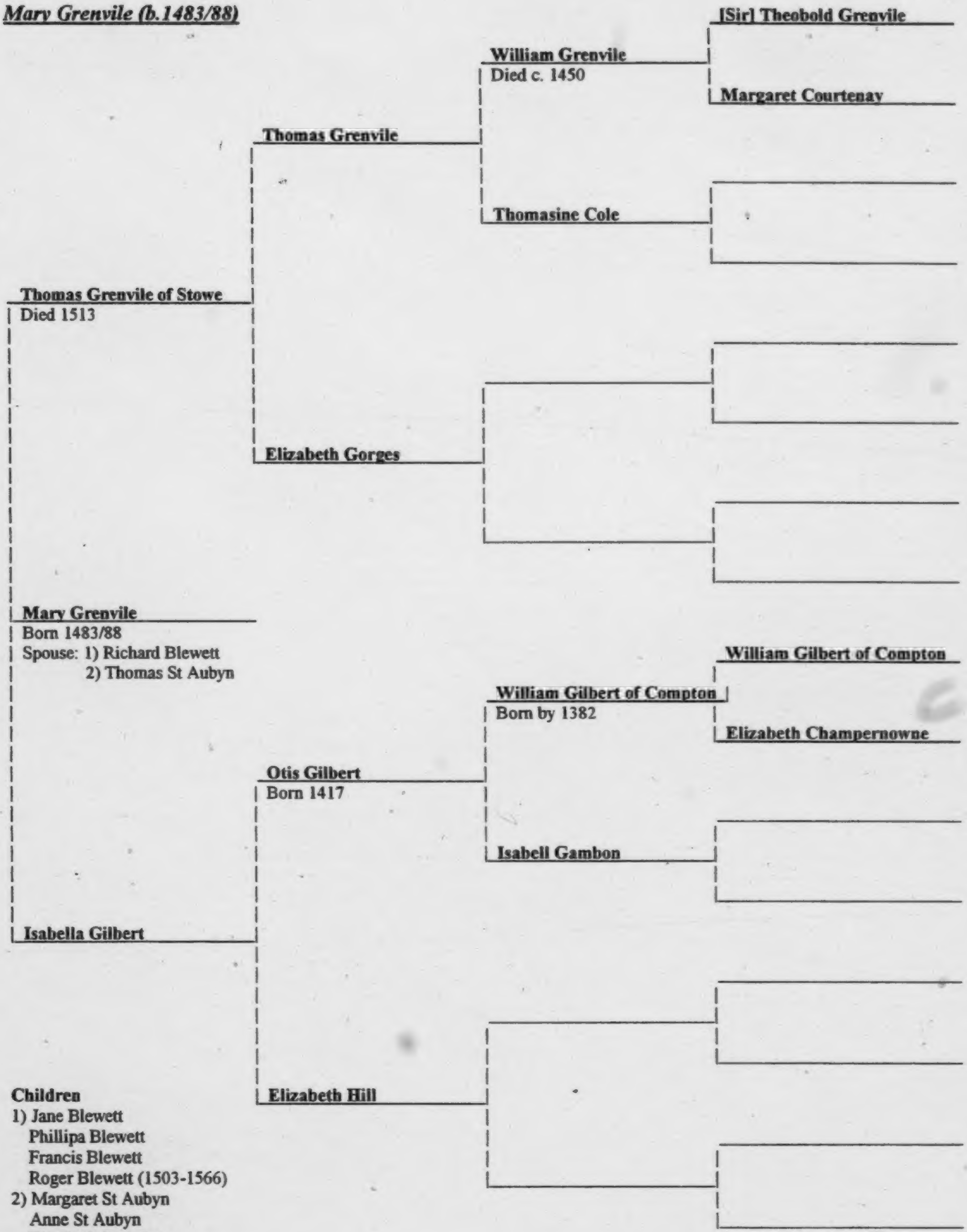
__Agnes Grenvile (b.1486/91)__


[Sir] Theobold Grenvile
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Margaret Courtenay
Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Agnes Grenvile
Born 1486/91
Spouse: John Roscarrock
William Gilbert of Compton
William Gilbert of Compton
Born by 1382
Elizabeth Champernowne
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabell Gambon
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill

Children

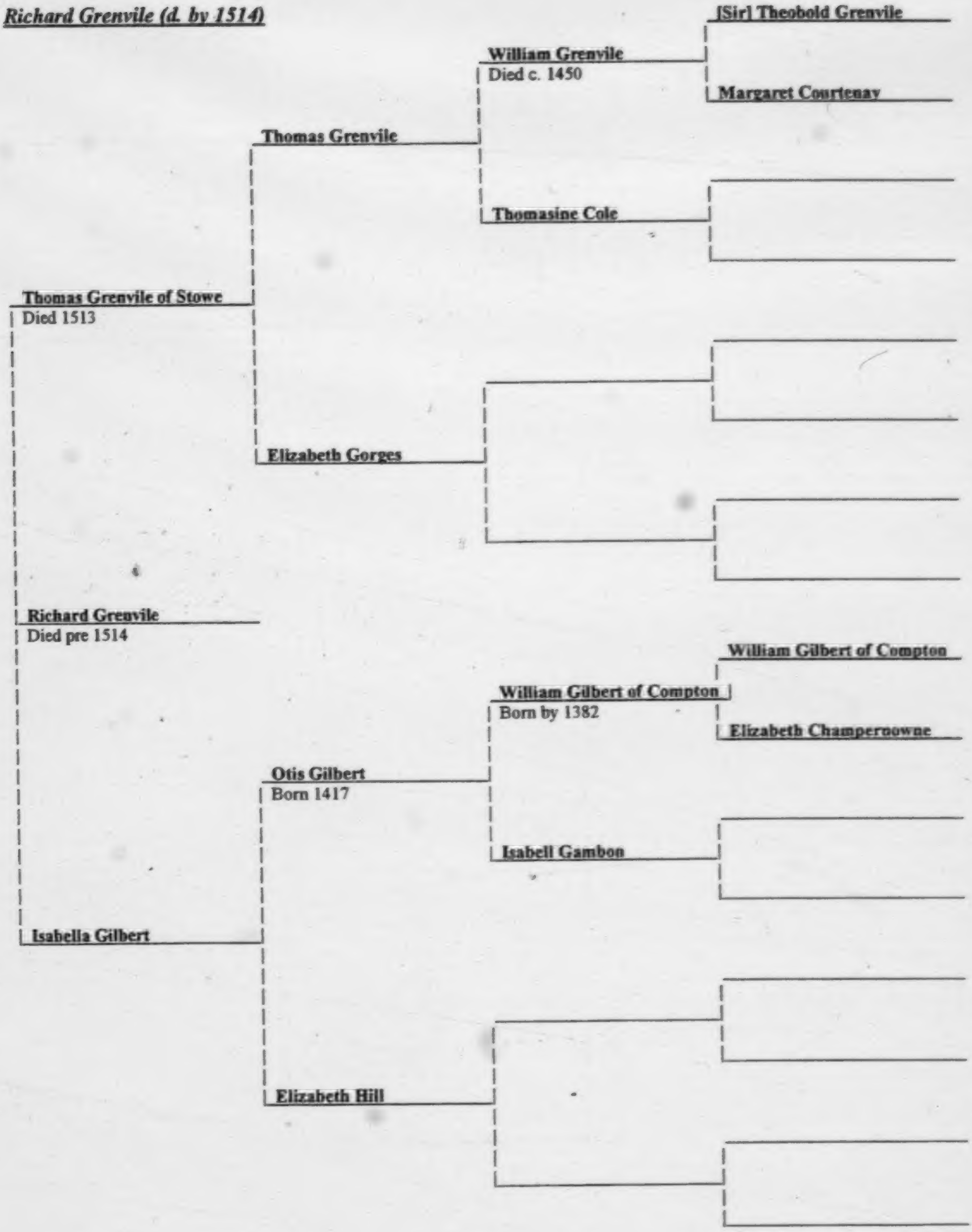
Richard (by 1507-1575)
William

Mary Grenvile (b.1483/88)

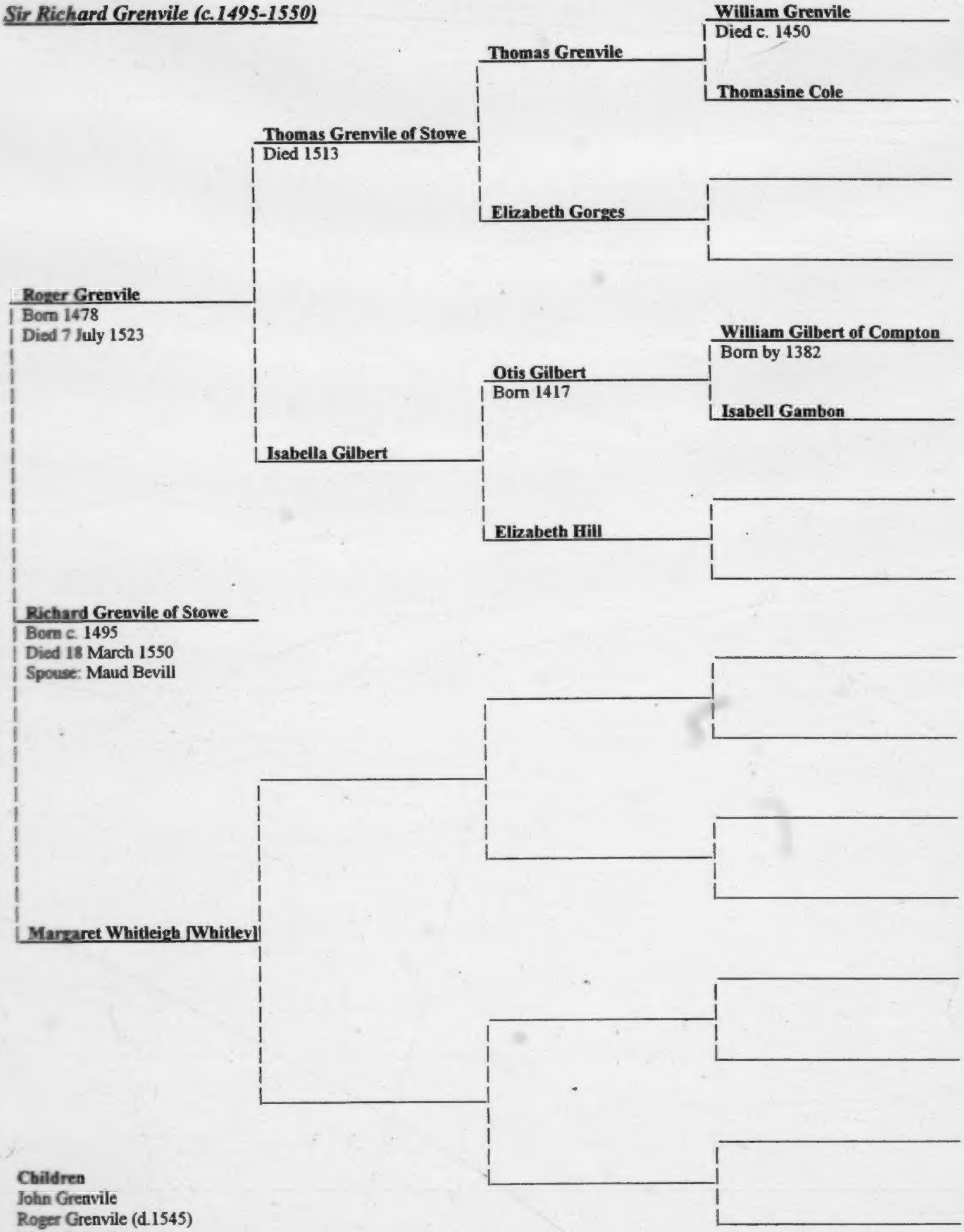

[Sir] Theobold Grenvile
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Margaret Courtenay
Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Mary Grenvile
Born 1483/88
Spouse: 1) Richard Blewett
2) Thomas St Aubyn
William Gilbert of Compton
William Gilbert of Compton
Born by 1382
Elizabeth Champernowne
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabell Gambon
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill

Children
1) Jane Blewett
Phillipa Blewett
Francis Blewett
Roger Blewett (1503-1566)
2) Margaret St Aubyn
Anne St Aubyn
Elizabeth St Aubyn
Thomas St Aubyn
William St Aubyn

Richard Grenvile (d. by 1514)

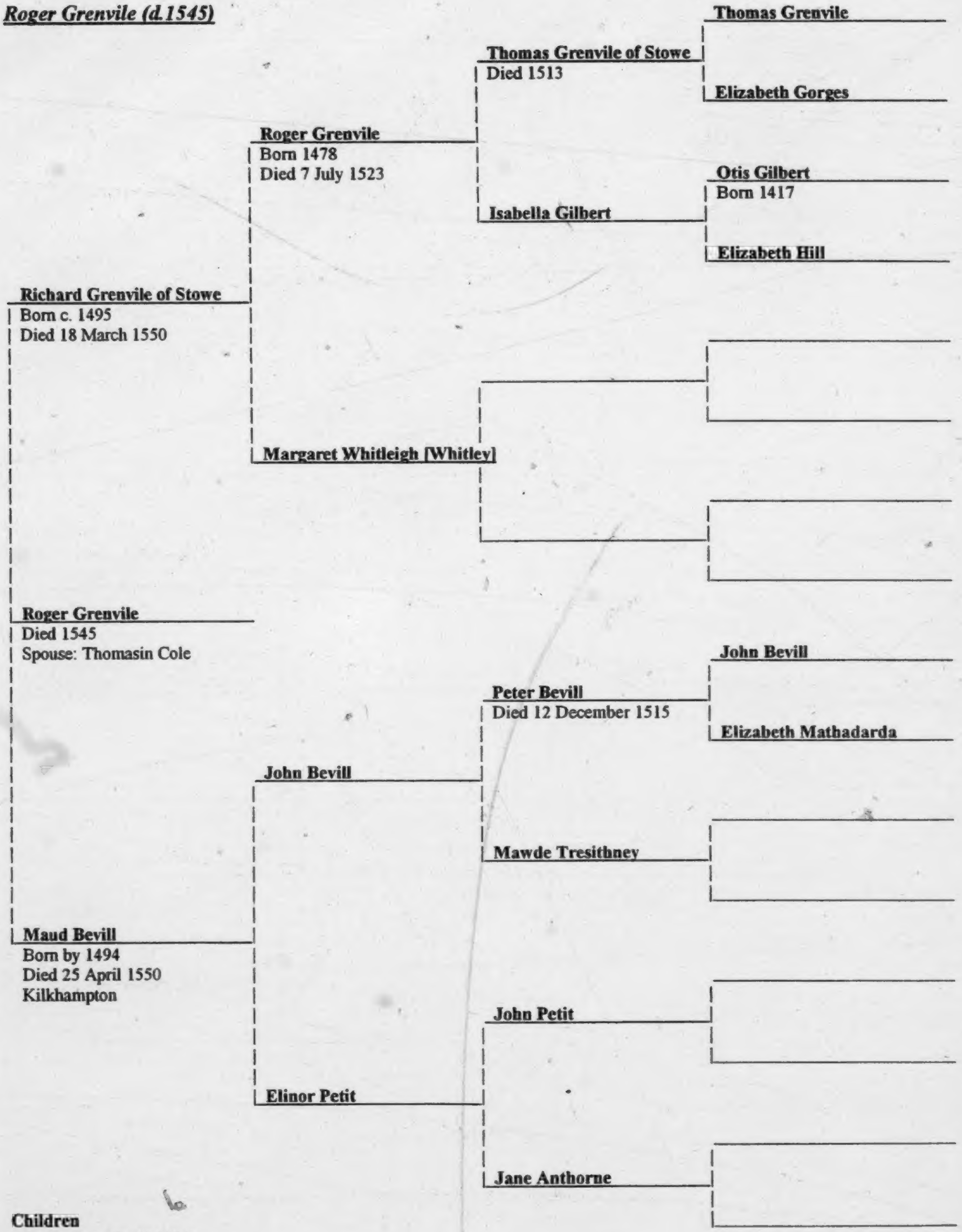

[Sir] Theobold Grenvile
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Margaret Courtenay
Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Richard Grenvile
Died pre 1514
William Gilbert of Compton
William Gilbert of Compton
Born by 1382
Elizabeth Champernowne
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabell Gambon
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill

Sir Richard Grenvile (c.1495-1550)


William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Roger Grenvile
Born 1478
Died 7 July 1523
William Gilbert of Compton
Born by 1382
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabell Gambon
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill
Richard Grenvile of Stowe
Born c. 1495
Died 18 March 1550
Spouse: Maud Bevill
Margaret Whitleigh [Whitley]

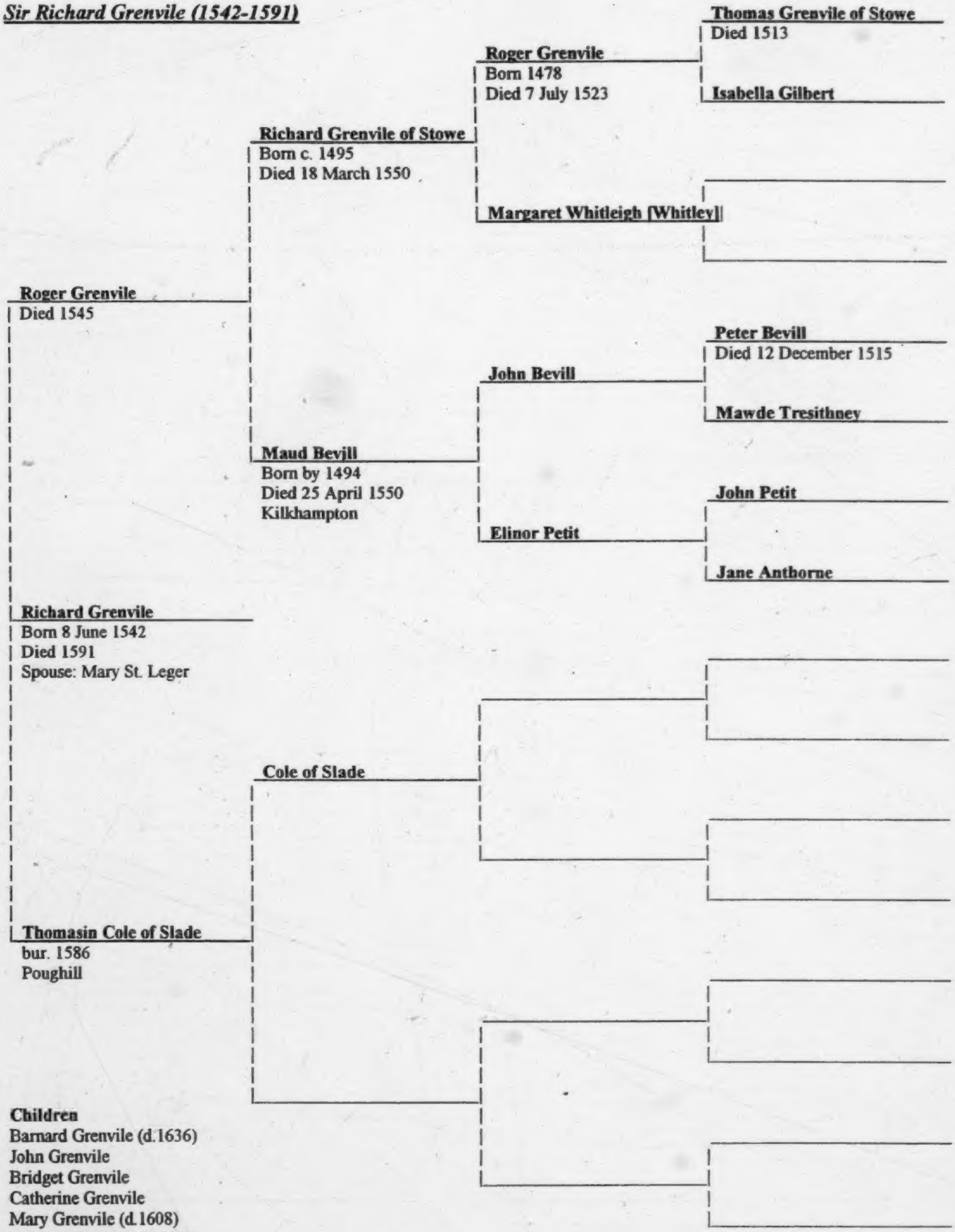
Children
John Grenvile
Roger Grenvile (d.1545)
Mary Grenvile
Jane Grenvile
Margaret Grenvile

Roger Grenvile (d.1545)


Thomas Grenvile
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Roger Grenvile
Born 1478
Died 7 July 1523
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill
Richard Grenvile of Stowe
Born c. 1495
Died 18 March 1550
Margaret Whitleigh [Whitley]
Roger Grenvile
Died 1545
Spouse: Thomasin Cole
John Bevill
Peter Bevill
Died 12 December 1515
Elizabeth Mathadarda
John Bevill
Mawde Tresithney
Maud Bevill
Born by 1494
Died 25 April 1550
Kilkhampton
John Petit
Elinor Petit
Jane Anthorne

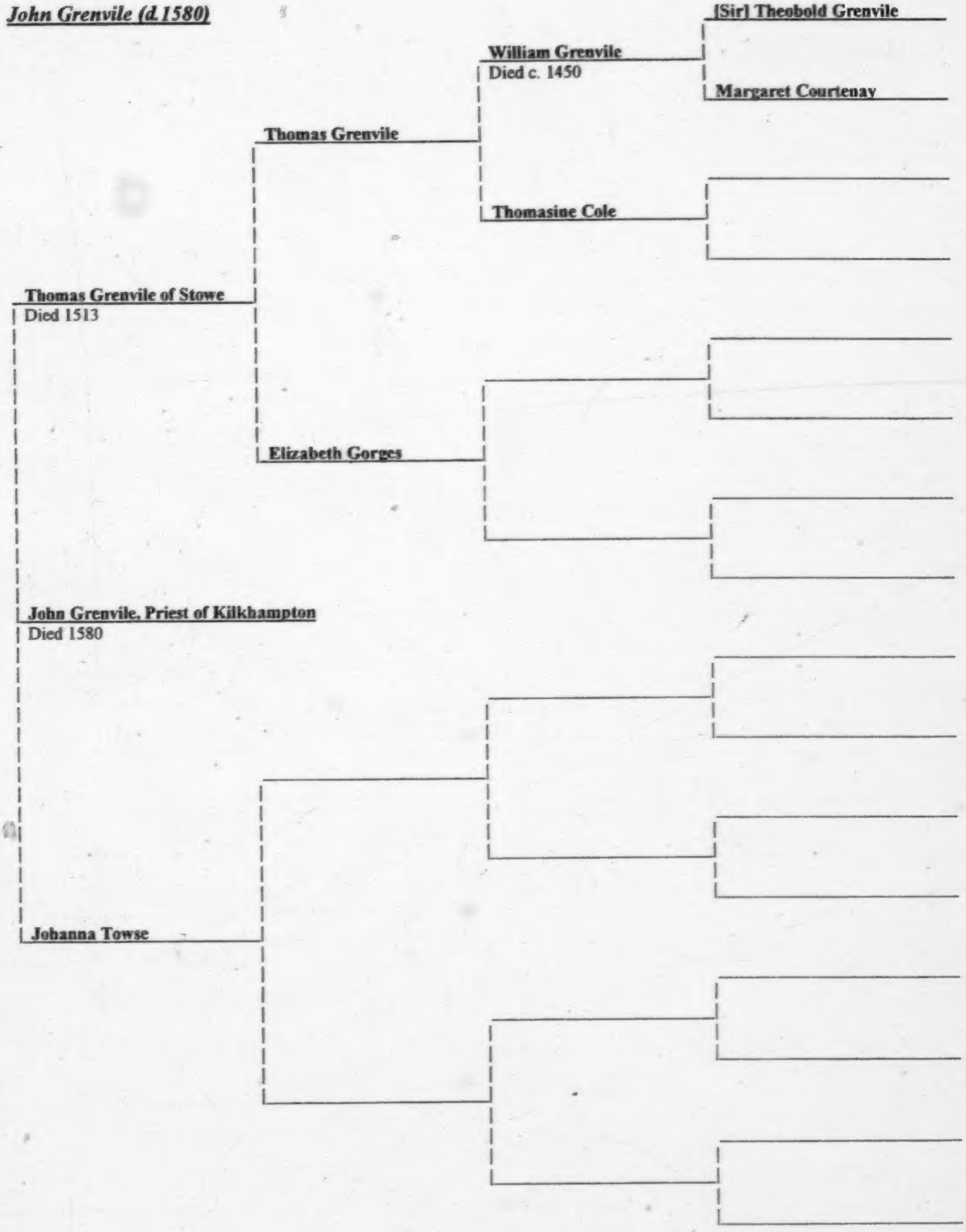
Children
Charles Grenvile (d.1544)
Richard Grenvile (c.1543-1591)
John Grenvile

Sir Richard Grenvile (1542-1591)


Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Roger Grenvile
Born 1478
Died 7 July 1523
Isabella Gilbert
Richard Grenvile of Stowe
Born c. 1495
Died 18 March 1550
Margaret Whitleigh [Whitley]
Roger Grenvile
Died 1545
Peter Bevill
Died 12 December 1515
John Bevill
Mawde Tresithney
Maud Bevill
Born by 1494
Died 25 April 1550
Kilkhampton
John Petit
Elinor Petit
Jane Anthorne
Richard Grenvile
Born 8 June 1542
Died 1591
Spouse: Mary St. Leger
Cole of Slade
Thomasin Cole of Slade
bur. 1586
Poughill

Children
Barnard Grenvile (d.1636)
John Grenvile
Bridget Grenvile
Catherine Grenvile
Mary Grenvile (d.1608)
Rebecca Grenvile (d.1589)
Roger Grenvile (d.1565)
Ursula Grenvile)d.1643)

John Grenvile (d.1580)


John Grenvile, Priest of Kilkhampton
Died 1580
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Johanna Towse
Thomas Grenvile
Elizabeth Gorges
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Thomasine Cole
[Sir] Theobold Grenvile
Margaret Courtenay

Appendix F

Ancestry - Other

The Bassets

Sir Arthur Basset (d.1586) page 335
George Basset (d.1580) 336
James Basset (d.1558) 337

Maud Bevill (d.1550) 338

Richard Chamond (d.1599) 339

Sir Peter Courtenay (d.1552) 340

Hugh Dowrish 341

Eleanor Grey 342

Henry VIII 343

Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel (d.1580) 344

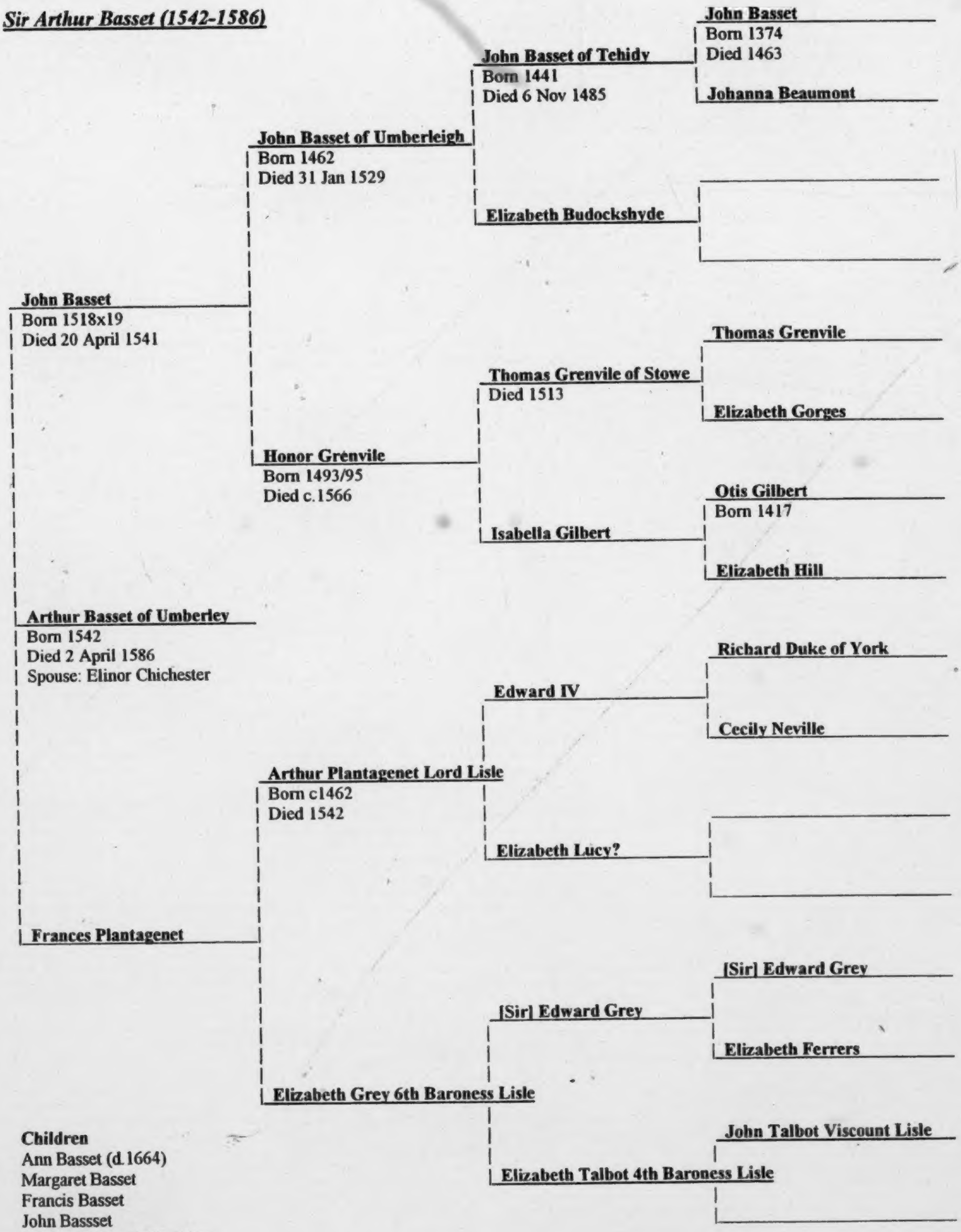
Arthur Plantagenet Lord Lisle (d.1542) 345

Thomas Roscarrock (d.1587) 346

The Carnsews

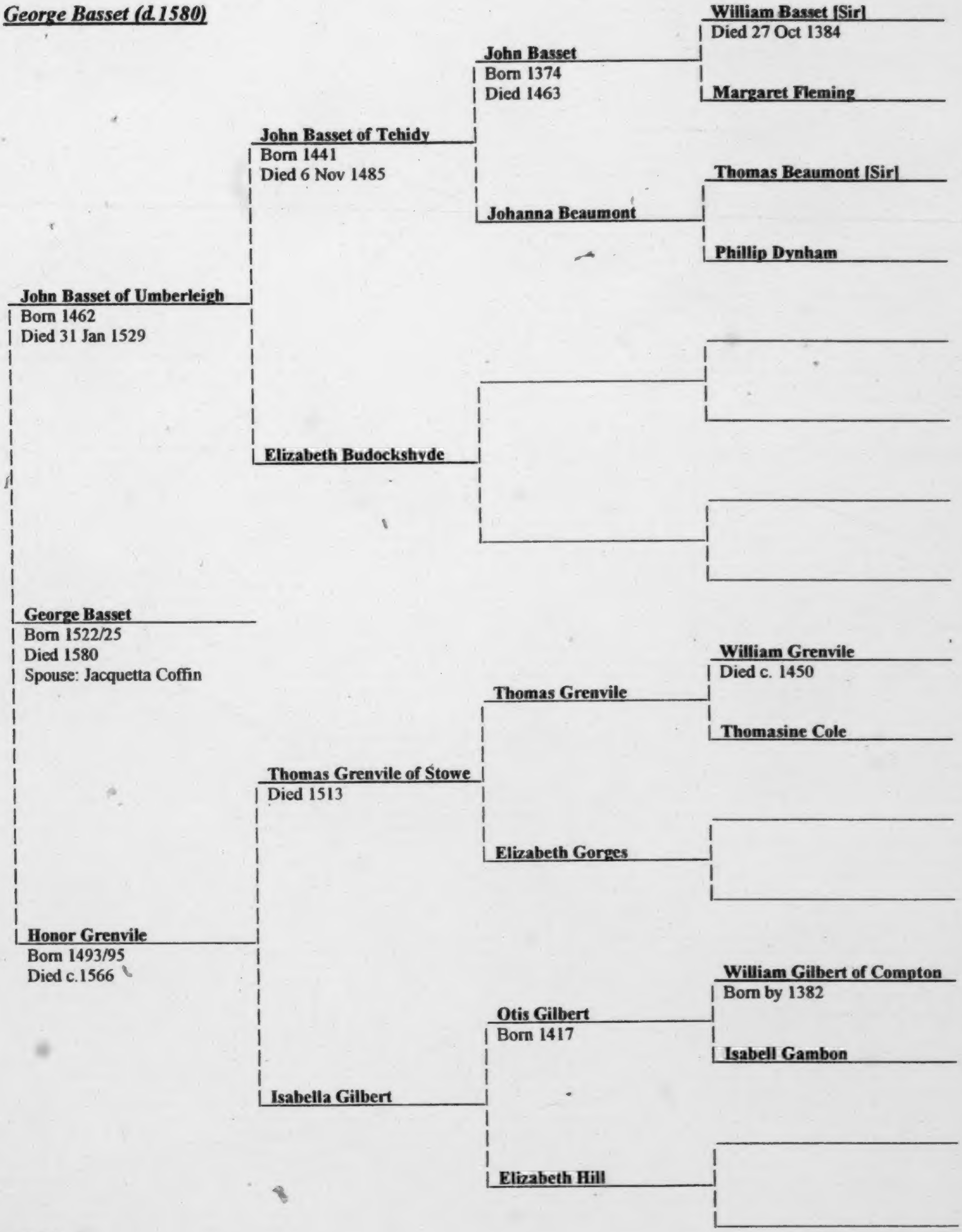
William Carnsew (d.1588) 347
Honor Fitz 348

Sir Arthur Basset (1542-1586)


John Basset
Born 1374
Died 1463
John Basset of Tehidy
Born 1441
Died 6 Nov 1485
Johanna Beaumont
John Basset of Umberleigh
Born 1462
Died 31 Jan 1529
Elizabeth Budockshyde
John Basset
Born 1518x19
Died 20 April 1541
Thomas Grenvile
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Honor Grenvile
Born 1493/95
Died c.1566
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill
Arthur Basset of Umberley
Born 1542
Died 2 April 1586
Spouse: Elinor Chichester
Richard Duke of York
Edward IV
Cecily Neville
Arthur Plantagenet Lord Lisle
Born c1462
Died 1542
Elizabeth Lucy?
Frances Plantagenet
[Sir] Edward Grey
[Sir] Edward Grey
Elizabeth Ferrers
Elizabeth Grey 6th Baroness Lisle
John Talbot Viscount Lisle
Elizabeth Talbot 4th Baroness Lisle

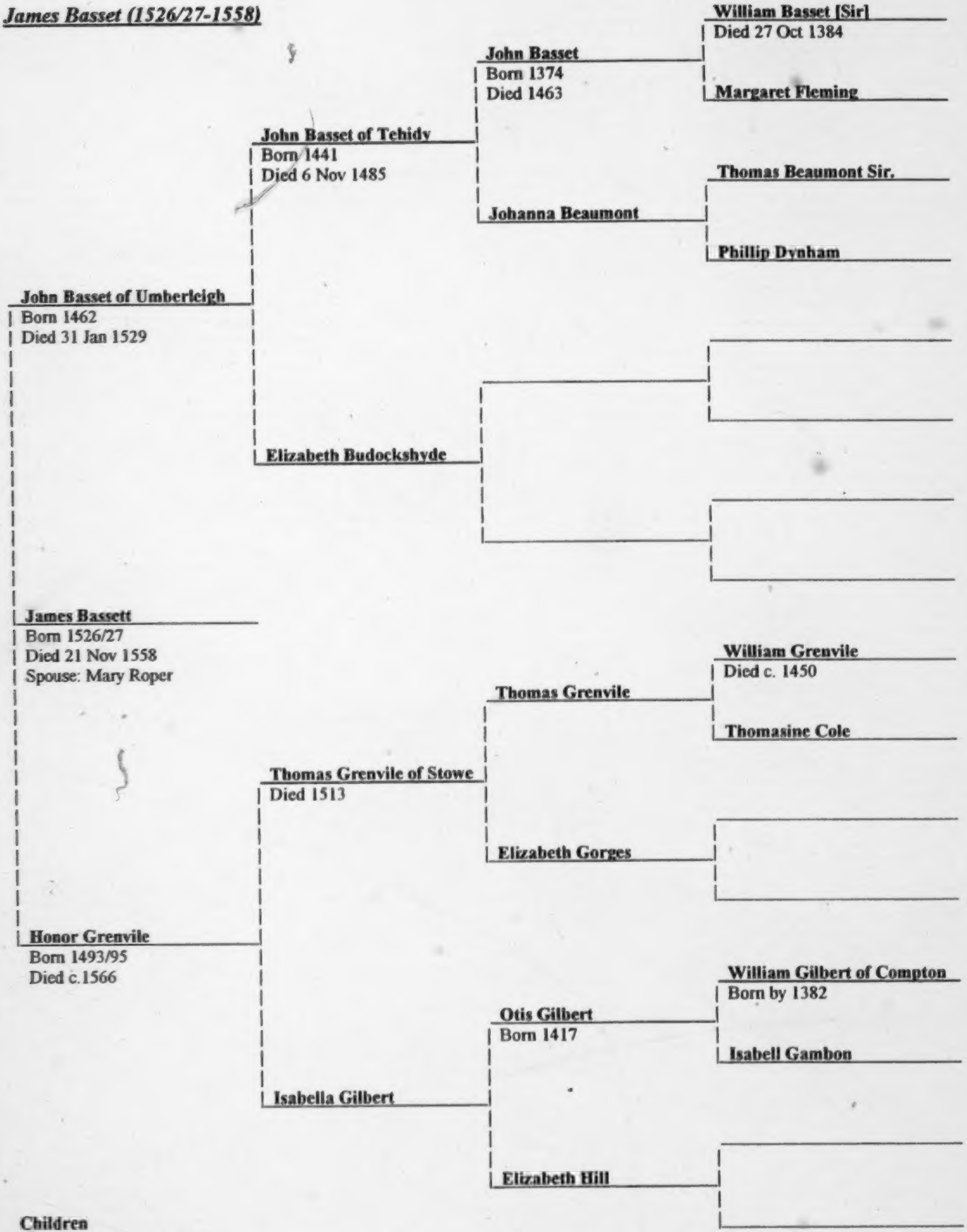
Children
Ann Basset (d.1664)
Margaret Basset
Francis Basset
John Bassset
Robert Basset (1563-1641)
Arthur Basset
William Basset

George Basset (d.1580)


William Basset [Sir]
Died 27 Oct 1384
John Basset
Born 1374
Died 1463
Margaret Fleming
John Basset of Tehidy
Born 1441
Died 6 Nov 1485
Thomas Beaumont [Sir]
Johanna Beaumont
Phillip Dynham
John Basset of Umberleigh
Born 1462
Died 31 Jan 1529
Elizabeth Budockshyde
George Basset
Born 1522/25
Died 1580
Spouse: Jacquetta Coffin
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Honor Grenvile
Born 1493/95
Died c.1566
William Gilbert of Compton
Born by 1382
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabell Gambon
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill

Children
Catherine Basset

James Basset (1526/27-1558)



James Bassett
Born 1526/27
Died 21 Nov 1558
Spouse: Mary Roper

John Basset of Umberleigh
Born 1462
Died 31 Jan 1529

John Basset of Tehidy
Born 1441
Died 6 Nov 1485

John Basset
Born 1374
Died 1463

William Basset [Sir]
Died 27 Oct 1384

Margaret Fleming

Johanna Beaumont

Thomas Beaumont Sir.

Phillip Dynham

Elizabeth Budockshyde

Honor Grenvile
Born 1493/95
Died c.1566

Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513

Thomas Grenvile

William Grenvile
Died c. 1450

Thomasine Cole

Elizabeth Gorges

Isabella Gilbert

Otis Gilbert
Born 1417

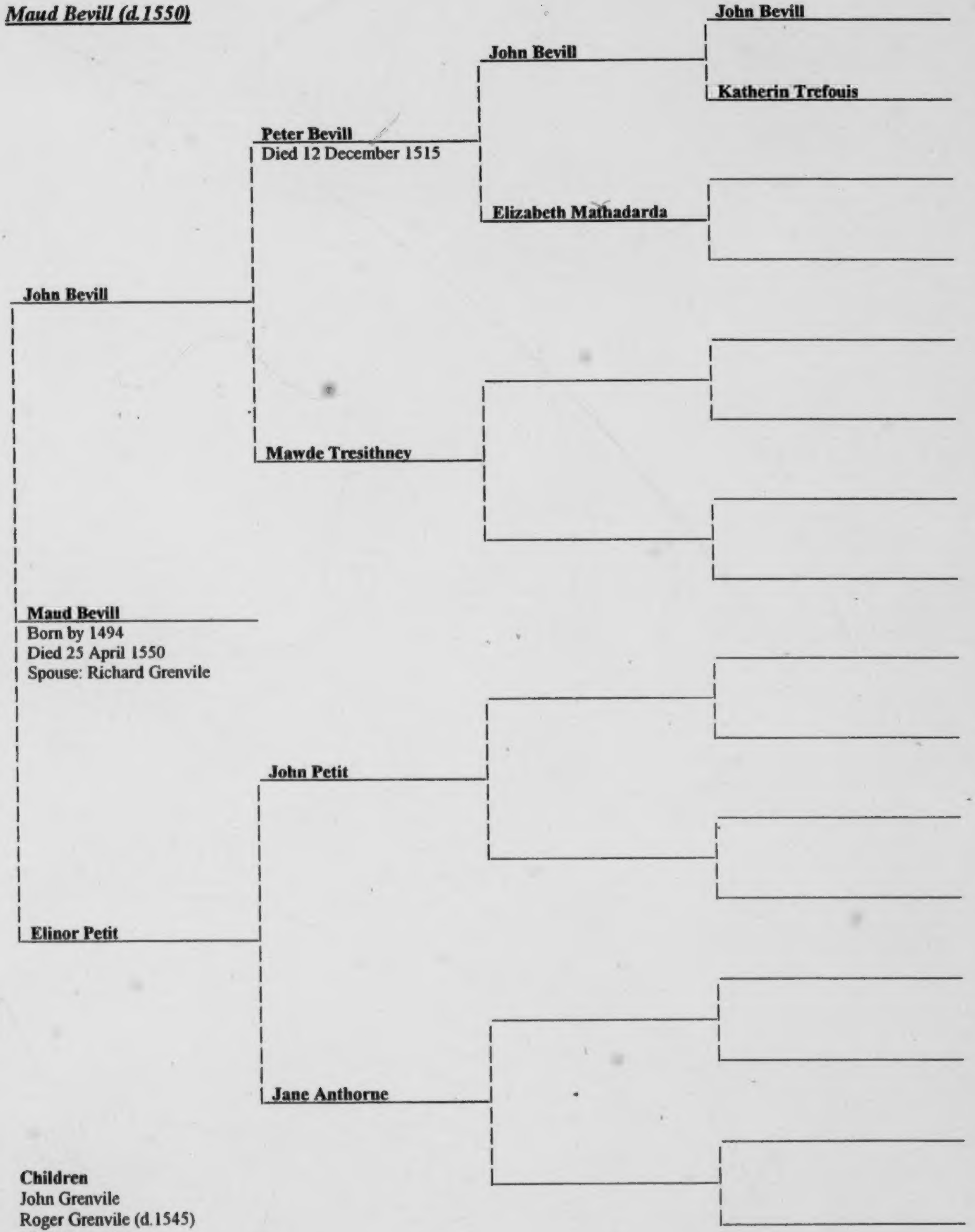
William Gilbert of Compton
Born by 1382

Isabell Gambon

Elizabeth Hill

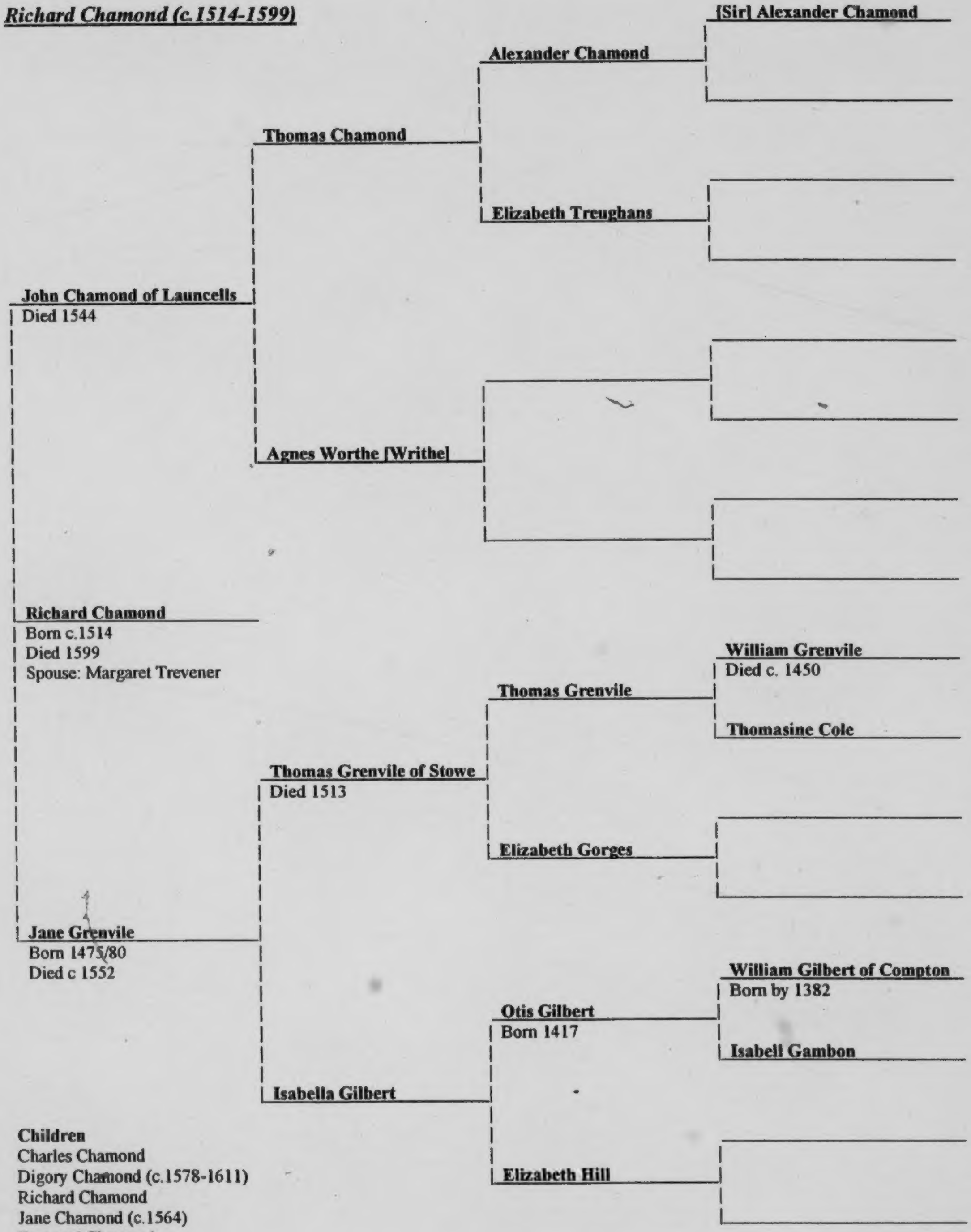
Children
Philip Basset (born c.1549)
Charles Basset (d.1584)

Maud Bevill (d.1550)


John Bevill
Katherin Trefouis
John Bevill
Peter Bevill
Died 12 December 1515
Elizabeth Mathadarda
John Bevill
Mawde Tresithney
Maud Bevill
Born by 1494
Died 25 April 1550
Spouse: Richard Grenvile
John Petit
Elinor Petit
Jane Anthorne

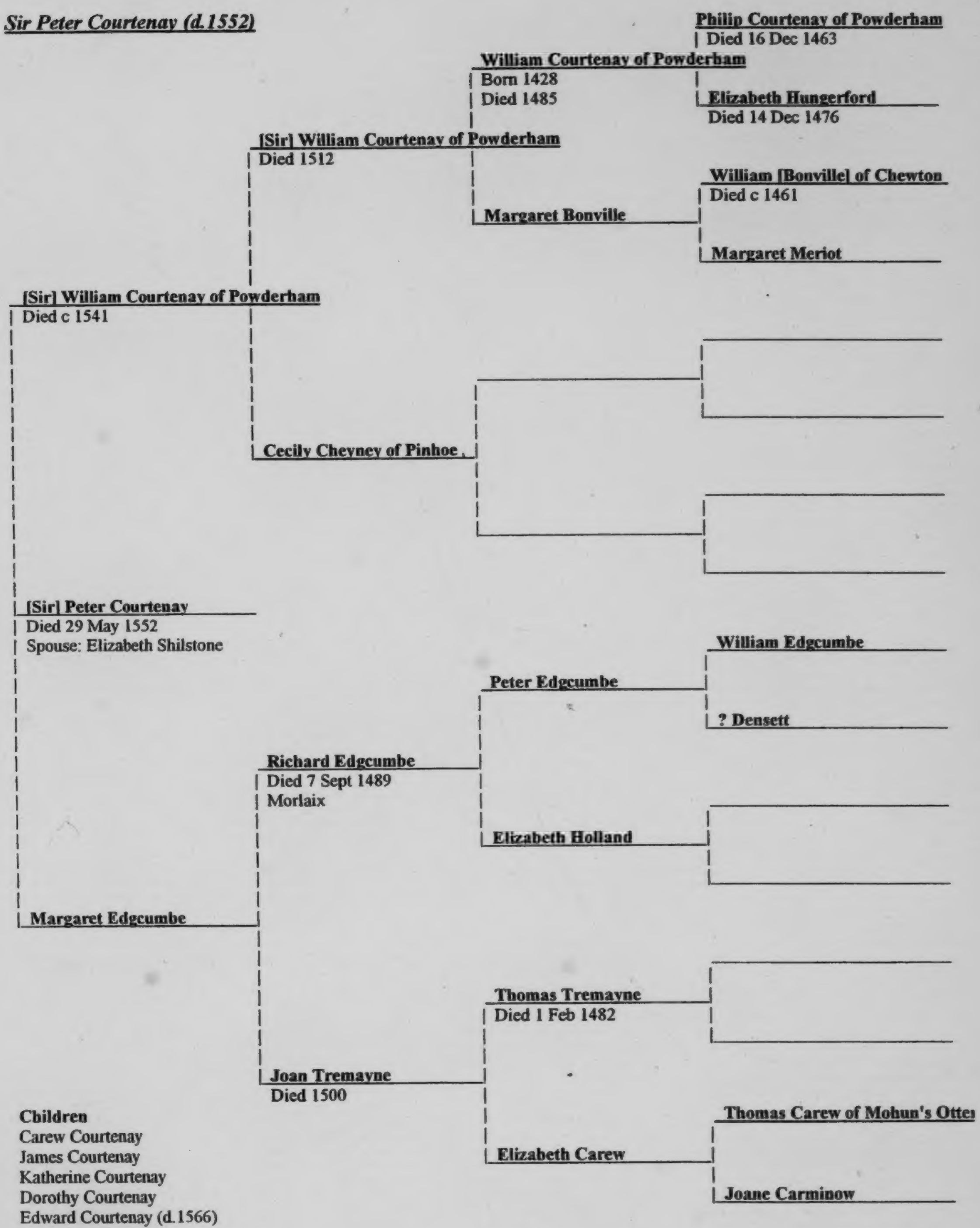
Children
John Grenvile
Roger Grenvile (d.1545)
Mary Grenvile
Jane Grenvile
Margaret Grenvile

Richard Chamond (c.1514-1599)


[Sir] Alexander Chamond
Alexander Chamond
Thomas Chamond
Elizabeth Treughans
John Chamond of Launcells
Died 1544
Agnes Worthe [Writhe]
Richard Chamond
Born c.1514
Died 1599
Spouse: Margaret Trevener
William Grenvile
Died c. 1450
Thomas Grenvile
Thomasine Cole
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Jane Grenvile
Born 1475/80
Died c 1552
William Gilbert of Compton
Born by 1382
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabell Gambon
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill

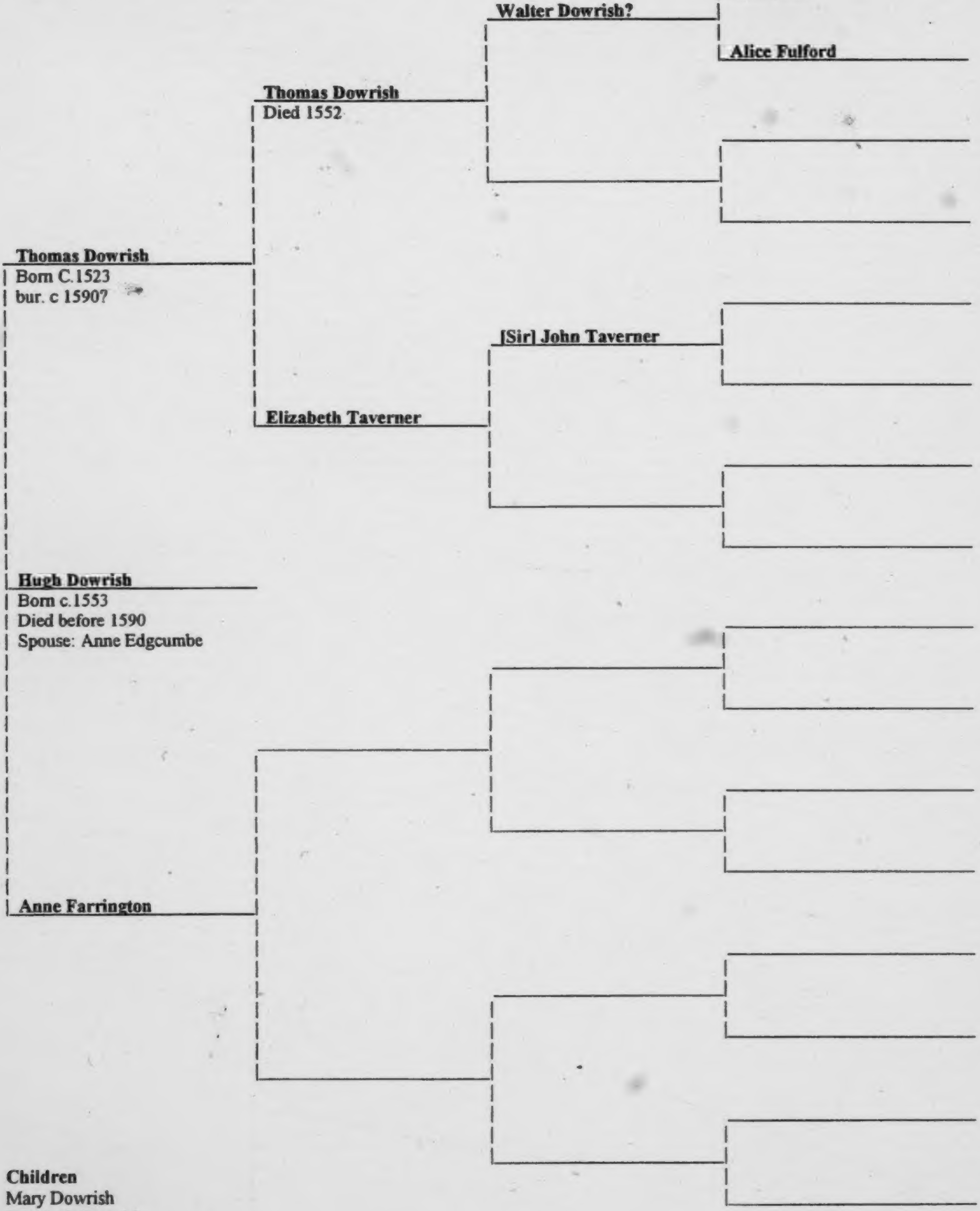
Children
Charles Chamond
Digory Chamond (c.1578-1611)
Richard Chamond
Jane Chamond (c.1564)
Emanuel Chamond
Gertrude Chamond
John Chamond (c.1550-1624)

Sir Peter Courtenay (d.1552)


Philip Courtenay of Powderham
Died 16 Dec 1463
William Courtenay of Powderham
Born 1428
Died 1485
Elizabeth Hungerford
Died 14 Dec 1476
[Sir] William Courtenay of Powderham
Died 1512
William [Bonville] of Chewton
Died c 1461
Margaret Bonville
Margaret Meriot
[Sir] William Courtenay of Powderham
Died c 1541
Cecily Cheyney of Pinhoe
[Sir] Peter Courtenay
Died 29 May 1552
Spouse: Elizabeth Shilstone
William Edgcumbe
Peter Edgcumbe
? Densett
Richard Edgcumbe
Died 7 Sept 1489
Morlaix
Elizabeth Holland
Margaret Edgcumbe
Thomas Tremayne
Died 1 Feb 1482
Joan Tremayne
Died 1500
Thomas Carew of Mohun's Otte
Elizabeth Carew
Joane Carminow

Children
Carew Courtenay
James Courtenay
Katherine Courtenay
Dorothy Courtenay
Edward Courtenay (d.1566)
Anne Courtenay
Joan Courtenay

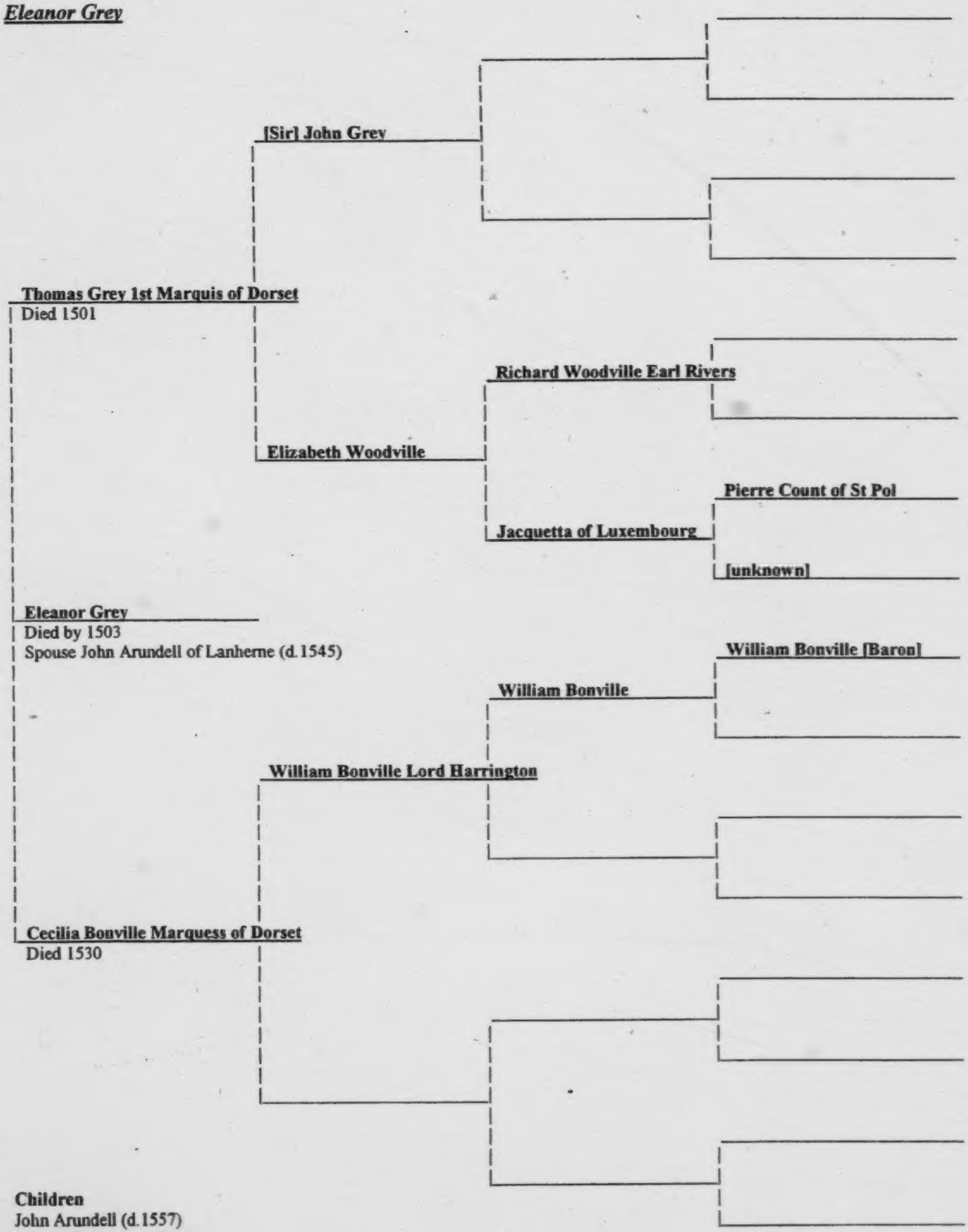
Hugh Dowrish (c.1553-by 1590)


Thomas Dowrish
Died 1483?
Walter Dowrish?
Alice Fulford
Thomas Dowrish
Died 1552
Thomas Dowrish
Born C.1523
bur. c 1590?
[Sir] John Taverner
Elizabeth Taverner
Hugh Dowrish
Born c.1553
Died before 1590
Spouse: Anne Edgcumbe
Anne Farrington

Children

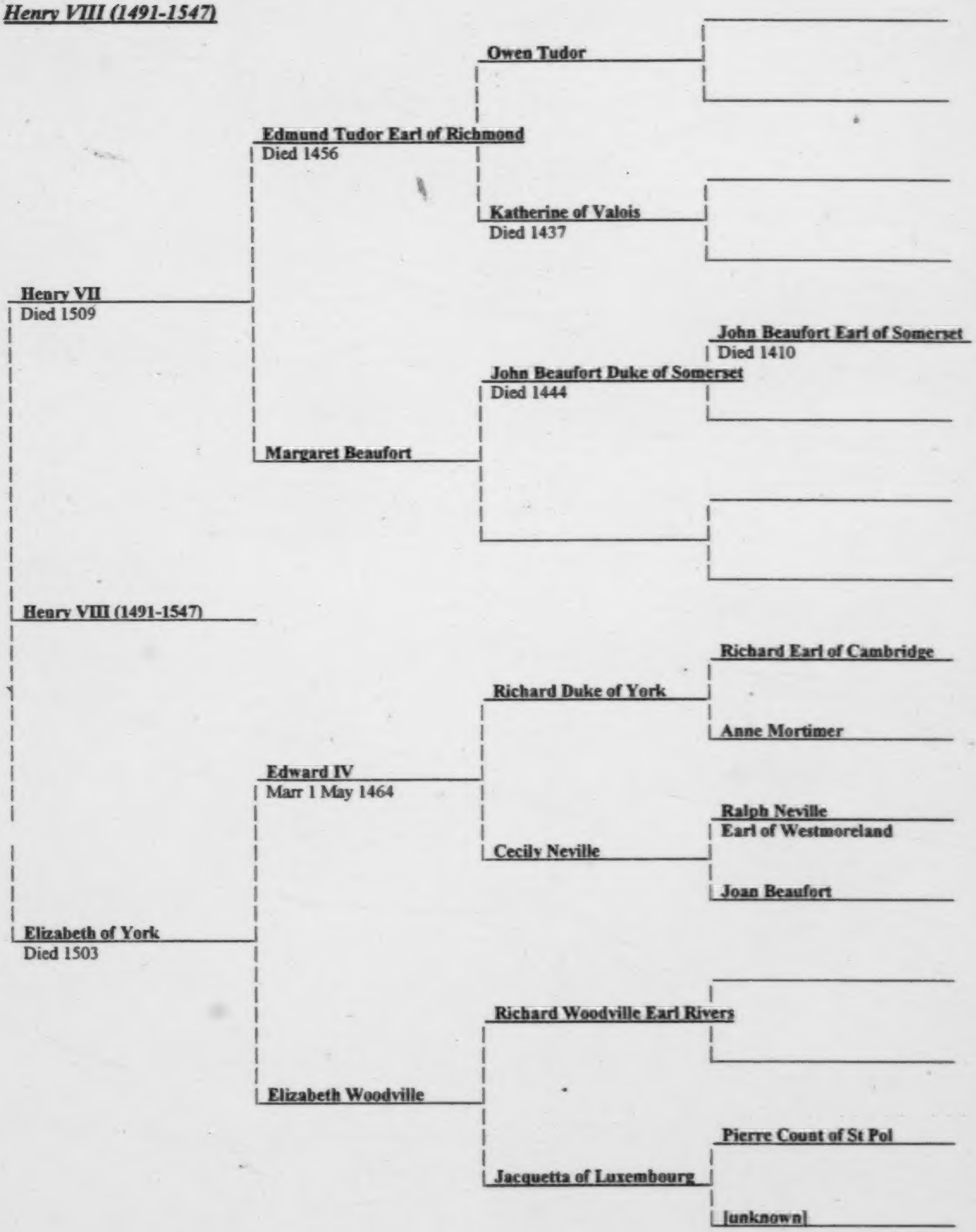
Mary Dowrish
Elizabeth Dowrish
Walter Dowrish
Alcana Dowrish

Eleanor Grey

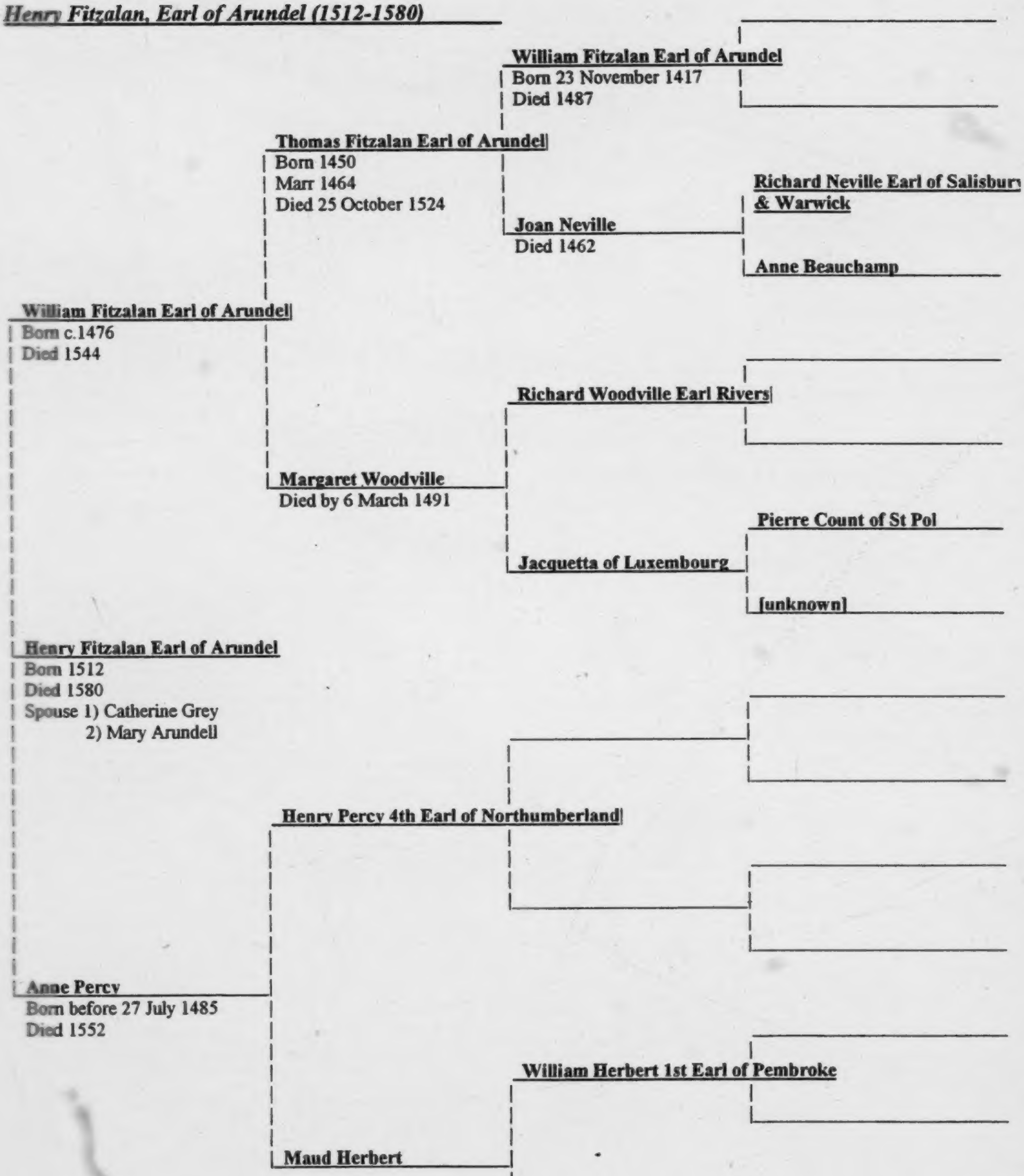

[Sir] John Grey
Thomas Grey 1st Marquis of Dorset
Died 1501
Richard Woodville Earl Rivers
Elizabeth Woodville
Pierre Count of St Pol
Jacquetta of Luxembourg
[unknown]
Eleanor Grey
Died by 1503
Spouse John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1545)
William Bonville [Baron]
William Bonville
William Bonville Lord Harrington
Cecilia Bonville Marquess of Dorset
Died 1530

Children
John Arundell (d.1557)
Jane Arundell (d.1577)
Elizabeth Arundell
Thomas Arundell (d.1552)

Henry VIII (1491-1547)

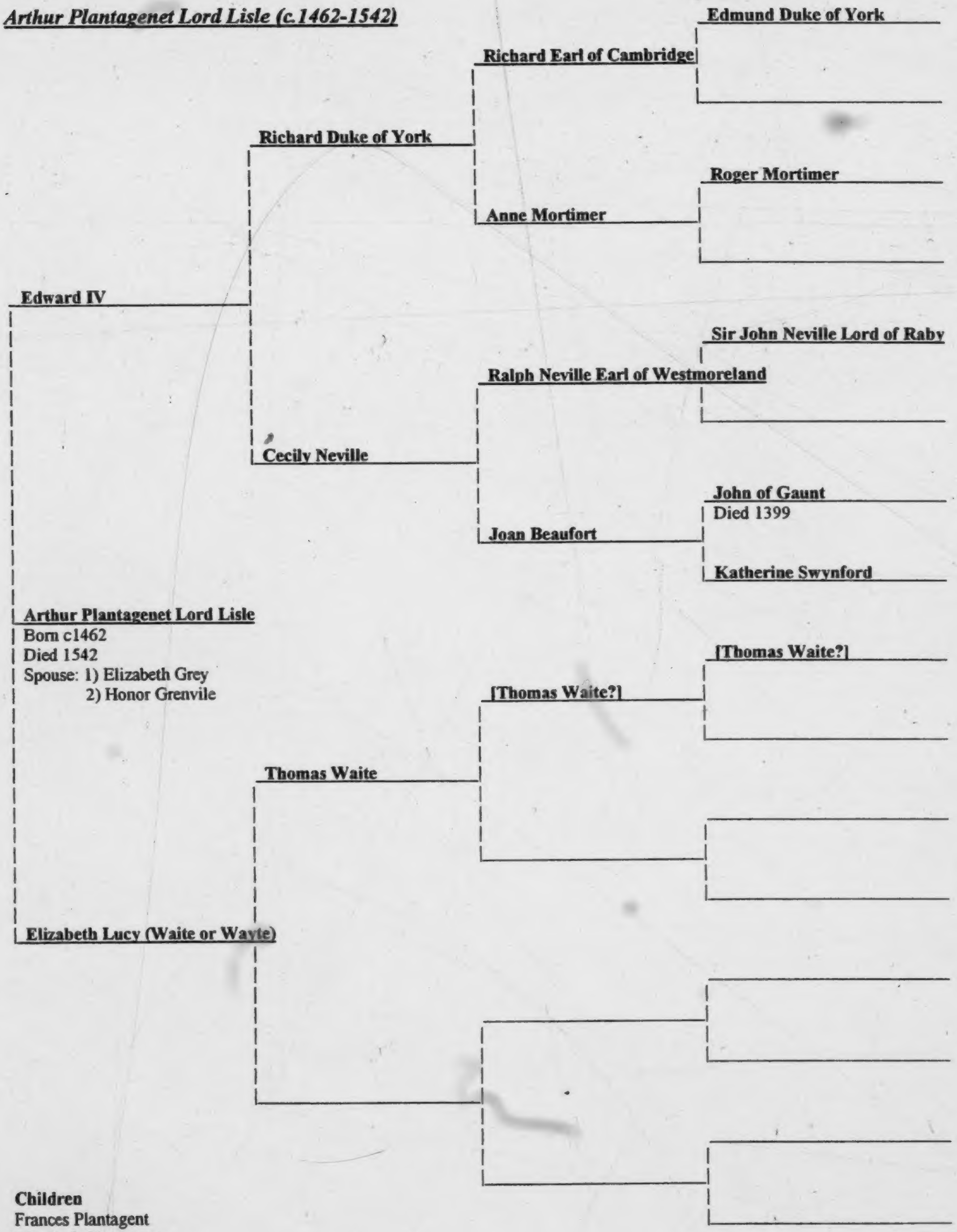

Owen Tudor
Edmund Tudor Earl of Richmond
Died 1456
Katherine of Valois
Died 1437
Henry VII
Died 1509
John Beaufort Earl of Somerset
Died 1410
John Beaufort Duke of Somerset
Died 1444
Margaret Beaufort
Henry VIII (1491-1547)
Richard Earl of Cambridge
Richard Duke of York
Anne Mortimer
Edward IV
Marr 1 May 1464
Ralph Neville
Earl of Westmoreland
Cecily Neville
Joan Beaufort
Elizabeth of York
Died 1503
Richard Woodville Earl Rivers
Elizabeth Woodville
Pierre Count of St Pol
Jacquetta of Luxembourg
[unknown]

Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (1512-1580)


William Fitzalan Earl of Arundel
Born 23 November 1417
Died 1487
Thomas Fitzalan Earl of Arundel
Born 1450
Marr 1464
Died 25 October 1524
Richard Neville Earl of Salisbur
& Warwick
Joan Neville
Died 1462
Anne Beauchamp
William Fitzalan Earl of Arundel
Born c.1476
Died 1544
Richard Woodville Earl Rivers
Margaret Woodville
Died by 6 March 1491
Pierre Count of St Pol
Jacquetta of Luxembourg
[unknown]
Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel
Born 1512
Died 1580
Spouse 1) Catherine Grey
2) Mary Arundell
Henry Percy 4th Earl of Northumberland
Anne Percy
Born before 27 July 1485
Died 1552
William Herbert 1st Earl of Pembroke
Maud Herbert

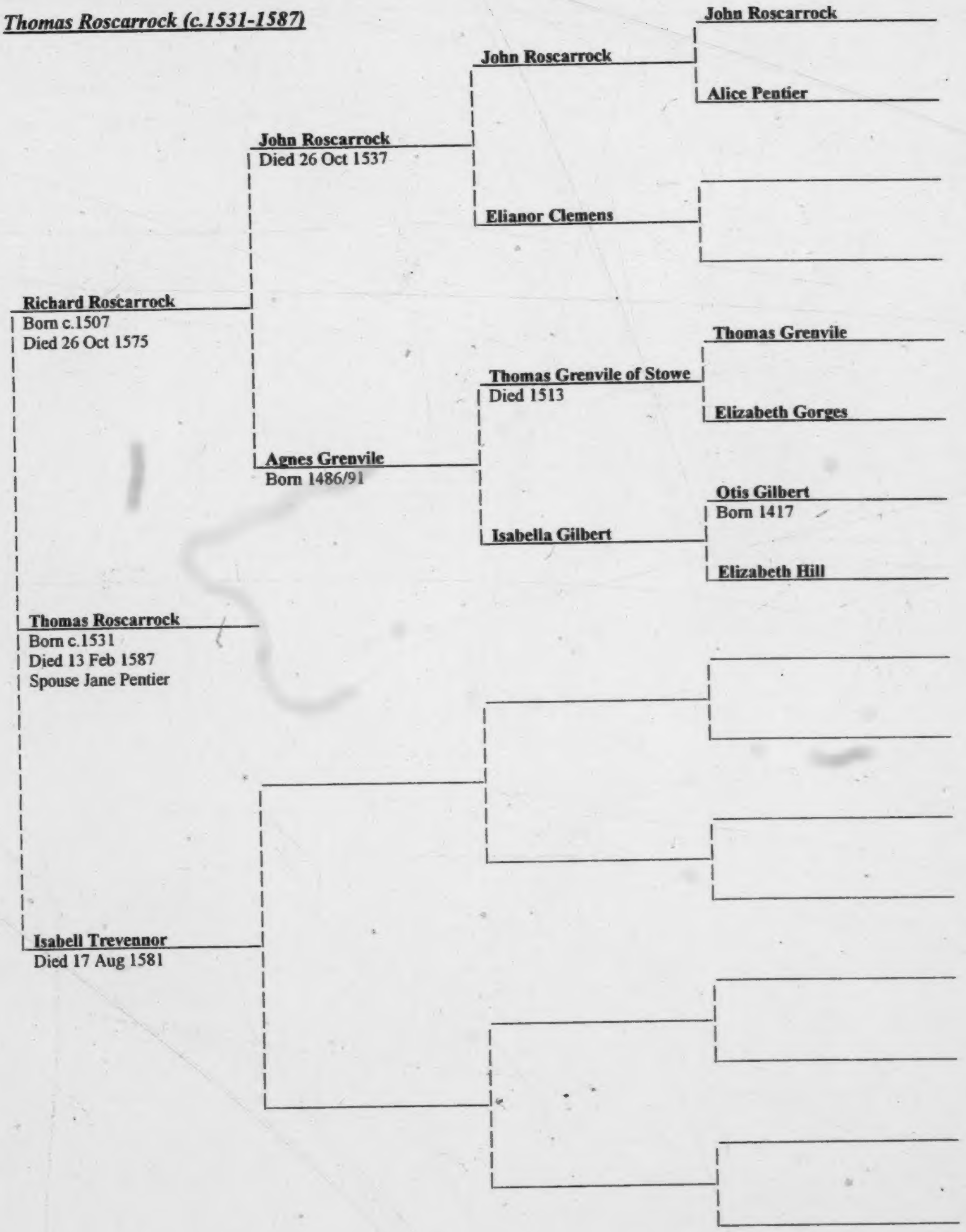
Children
Mary Arundell (d.1557)
Jane Arundell
Henry Arundell (1538-1556)

Arthur Plantagenet Lord Lisle (c.1462-1542)

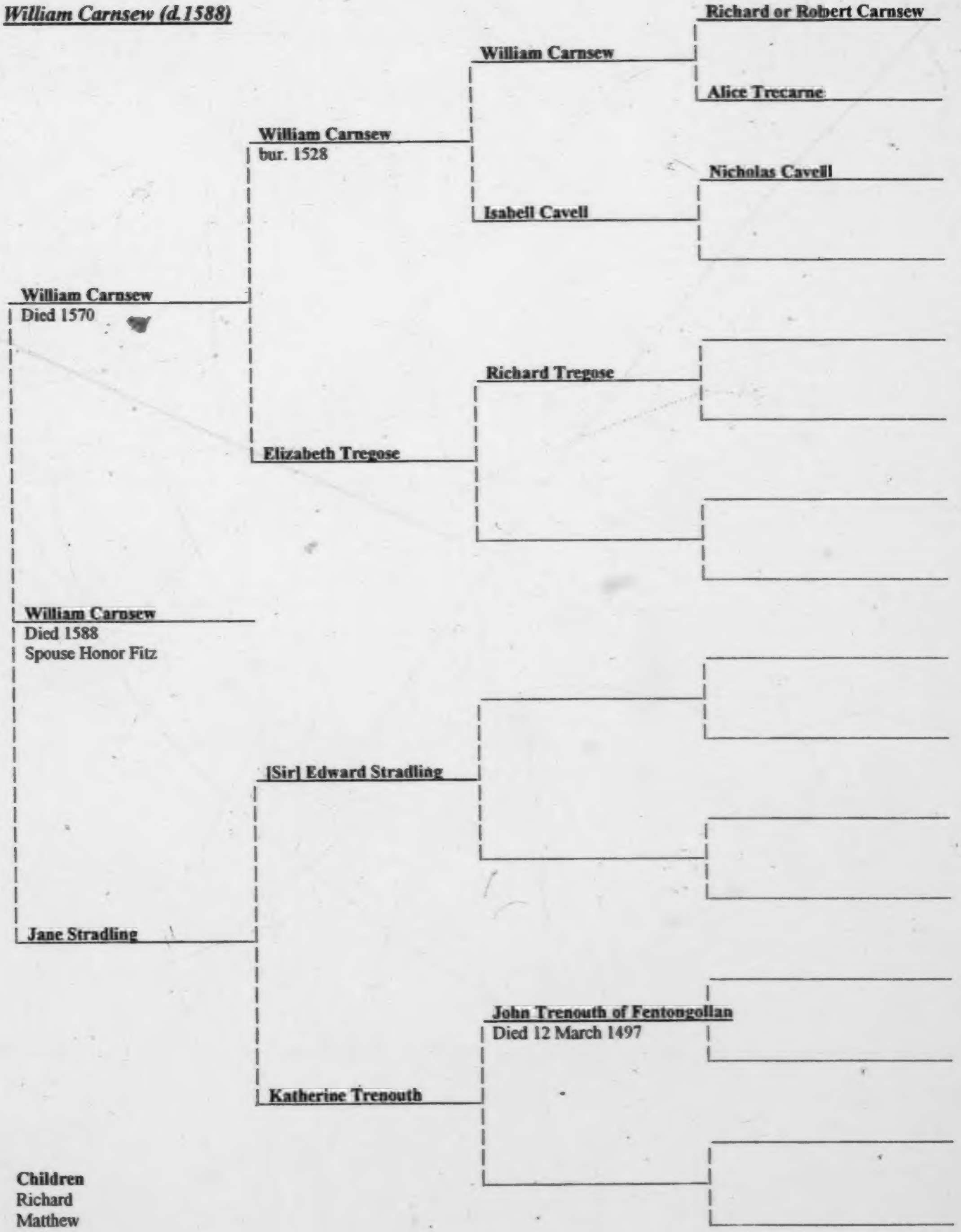

Edmund Duke of York
Richard Earl of Cambridge
Richard Duke of York
Roger Mortimer
Anne Mortimer
Edward IV
Sir John Neville Lord of Raby
Ralph Neville Earl of Westmoreland
Cecily Neville
John of Gaunt
Died 1399
Joan Beaufort
Katherine Swynford
Arthur Plantagenet Lord Lisle
Born c1462
Died 1542
Spouse: 1) Elizabeth Grey
2) Honor Grenvile
[Thomas Waite?]
[Thomas Waite?]
Thomas Waite
Elizabeth Lucy (Waite or Wayte)

Children
Frances Plantagent
Elizabeth Plantagenet
Bridget Plantagenet

Thomas Roscarrock (c.1531-1587)

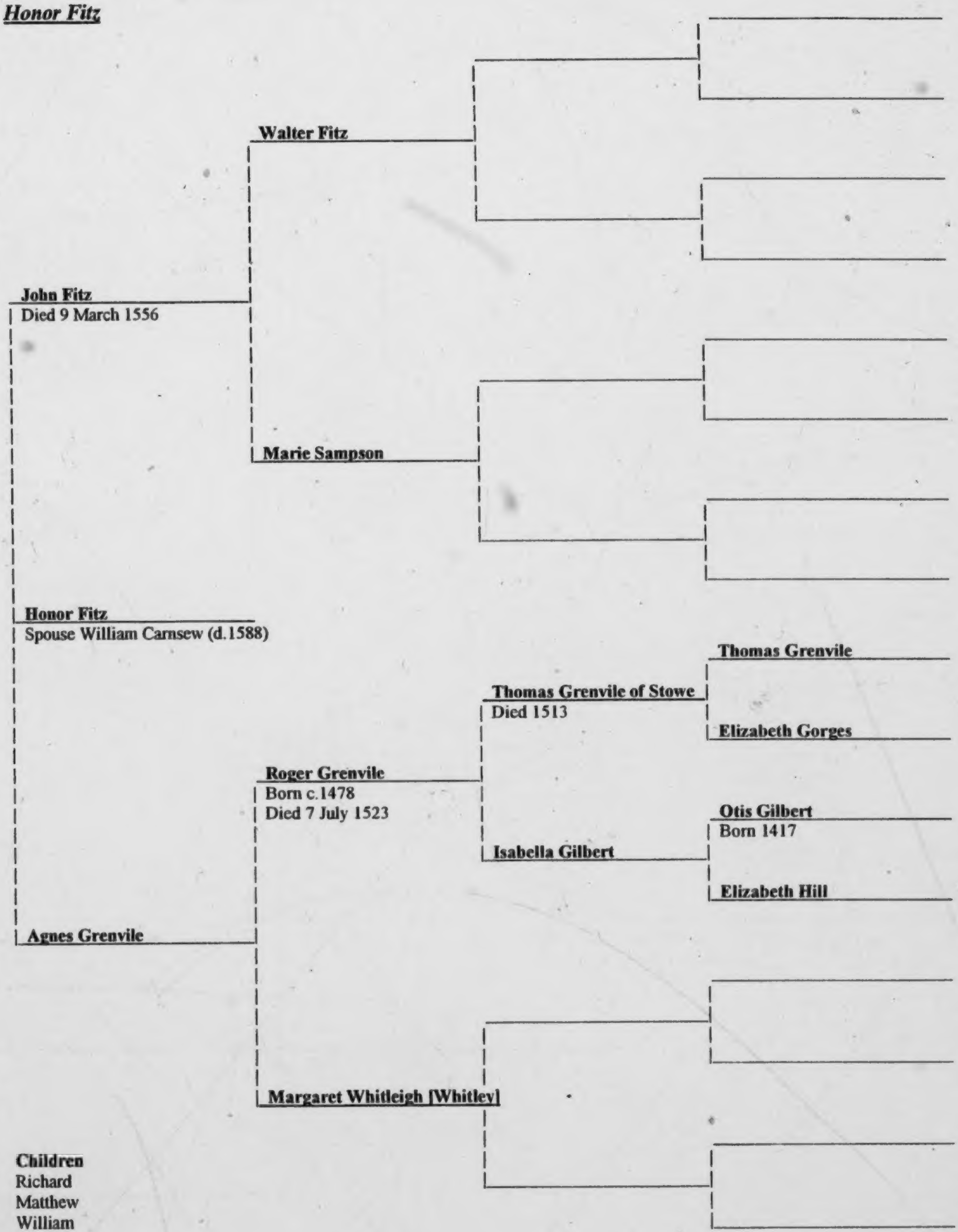

John Roscarrock
John Roscarrock
Alice Pentier
John Roscarrock
Died 26 Oct 1537
Elianor Clemens
Richard Roscarrock
Born c.1507
Died 26 Oct 1575
Thomas Grenvile
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Elizabeth Gorges
Agnes Grenvile
Born 1486/91
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Isabella Gilbert
Elizabeth Hill
Thomas Roscarrock
Born c.1531
Died 13 Feb 1587
Spouse Jane Pentier
Isabell Trevennor
Died 17 Aug 1581

William Carnsew (d.1588)


Richard or Robert Carnsew
William Carnsew
Alice Trecarne
William Carnsew
bur. 1528
Nicholas Cavell
Isabell Cavell
William Carnsew
Died 1570
Richard Tregose
Elizabeth Tregose
William Carnsew
Died 1588
Spouse Honor Fitz
[Sir] Edward Stradling
Jane Stradling
John Trenouth of Fentongollan
Died 12 March 1497
Katherine Trenouth

Children
Richard
Matthew
William
Frances
Grace

Honor Fitz


John Fitz
Died 9 March 1556
Walter Fitz
Marie Sampson
Honor Fitz
Spouse William Carnsew (d.1588)
Agnes Grenvile
Roger Grenvile
Born c.1478
Died 7 July 1523
Thomas Grenvile of Stowe
Died 1513
Thomas Grenvile
Elizabeth Gorges
Isabella Gilbert
Otis Gilbert
Born 1417
Elizabeth Hill
Margaret Whitleigh [Whitley]

Children
Richard
Matthew
William
Frances
Grace

Appendix G

Computed Relationships

Computed relationship charts reflect the ancestral lineage of two individuals who have a common ancestor. The charts read in two columns from the bottom left and right to the common ancestor at the top of the page.

The complexity of relationships is reflected in the following two instances. The first three charts on pp. 352-54 show that Henry Fitzalan and Edward IV had three different familial connections. The two charts on pp. 356-57 show that John Arundell had two different familial connections with Henry VIII through each of their maternal and paternal ancestral lineage.

Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel (d.1580) and Edward IV page 350
351
352

Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel (d.1580)and
his second wife, Mary Arundell of Lanherne (d.1557) 353

Eleanor Grey and Henry VIII 354

Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1557) and Henry VIII 355
356

Joan Champernowne and Sir Wymond Carew of Antony 357

Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (d.1545) and Maud Bevill 358

Edward III

Edmund Duke of York	John of Gaunt
Richard Earl of Cambridge	Joan Beaufort
Richard Duke of York	Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury
Edward IV	Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury & Warwick
	Joan Neville
	Thomas Fitzalan Earl of Arundel
	William Fitzalan Earl of Arundel
	Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel

Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel

is the third cousin, four times removed of

Edward IV

Ralph Neville Earl of Westmoreland

Cecily Neville	Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury
Edward IV	Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury & Warwick
	Joan Neville
	Thomas Fitzalan Earl of Arundel
	William Fitzalan Earl of Arundel
	Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel

Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel

is the first cousin, four times removed of

Edward IV

Edward III

Lionel Duke of Clarence

Phillipa

Roger Mortimer

Anne Mortimer

Richard Duke of York

Edward IV

John of Gaunt

Joan Beaufort

Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury

Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury & Warwick

Joan Neville

Thomas Fitzalan Earl of Arundel

William Fitzalan Earl of Arundel

Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel

Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel

is the 5th cousin, twice removed of

Edward IV

Sir John Neville Lord of Raby

Eleanor	Ralph Neville Earl of Westmoreland
Katherine	Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury
Katherine Chideock	Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury & Warwick
Thomas Arundell of Lanherne	Joan Neville
John Arundell of Lanherne	Thomas Fitzalan Earl of Arundel
Mary Arundell	William Fitzalan Earl of Arundel
	Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel

Henry Fitzalan Earl of Arundel
is the 5th cousin, once removed of
Mary Arundell

Elizabeth Woodville

Elizabeth of York	Thomas Grey 1st Marquis of Dorset
Henry VIII	Eleanor Grey

Eleanor Grey
is the first cousin of
Henry VIII

Elizabeth Woodville

Elizabeth of York
Henry VIII

Thomas Grey 1st Marquis of Dorset
Eleanor Grey
John Arundell of Lanherne

John Arundell of Lanherne
is the first cousin, once removed of
Henry VIII

Sir John Neville Lord of Raby

Ralph Neville Earl of Westmoreland	Eleanor
Cecily Neville	Katherine
Edward IV	Katherine Chideock
Elizabeth of York	Thomas Arundell of Lanherne
Henry VIII	John Arundell of Lanherne
	John Arundell of Lanherne

John Arundell of Lanherne

is the 4th cousin, once removed of

Henry VIII

Nicholas Carew

Alexander Carew of Antony	Thomas Carew of Mohun's Ottery
John Carew of Antony	Nicholas Carew
Wymond Carew of Antony	Edmund Carew of Mohun's Ottery
	Catherine Carew of Mohun's Ottery
	Joan Champernowne

Joan Champernowne

is the second cousin, twice removed of

Wymond Carew of Antony

John Arundell

Margaret Arundell	John Arundell
Ralph Bevill	John Arundell
John Bevill	John Arundell Lanherne
John Bevill	John Arundell of Bideford
Peter Bevill	John Arundell Lanherne
John Bevill	Thomas Arundell of Lanherne
Maud Bevill	John Arundell of Lanherne

John Arundell of Lanherne
is the sixth cousin of
Maud Bevill

Appendix H

Maps

John Leland's Journey through Devon and Cornwall page 361

NB. Leland's route was extremely circuitous as he visited many nooks and crannys not relfected on this composed map.

William Carnsew's Journeys 362

An extract from N.J.G. Pounds, "William Carnsew of Bokelly and His Diary, 1576-7," reprinted from *The Journal of the Royal Insitution of Cornwall*, n.s. 8 pt. 1 (1978): 27. Reproduced with the permission of the Royal Insitution of Cornwall.

The estuary of the River Tamar 363

The southern county boundary between Devon and Cornwall. The numbered locations are referred to both in the description of the events at Trematon Castle in 1549 and in the travels of John Leland. Reproduced from Sheet 187, Ordnance Survey (1962).

#1 Mount Edgcumbe - an Edgcumbe, formerly a Dernford (Durnford) manor on the Cornish side of the river where Sir Richard Edgcumbe (d.1561/62) built his great house in the 1540s and 1550s

#2 Antony House - the Carews of Antony

#3. Trematon Castle

#4. Cotehele House - an Edgcumbe manor and house north of Trematon Castle

#5. Buckland Abbey - a dissolved religious house acquired by Sir Richard Grenvile

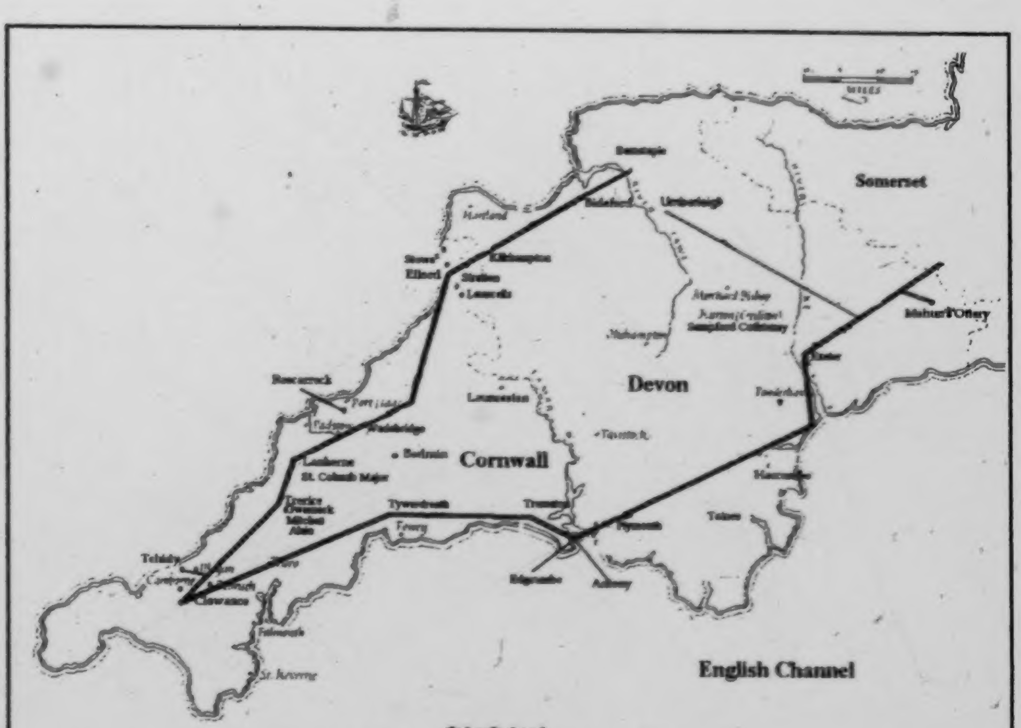
#6. Stonehouse - an Edgcumbe manor and house

#7. St Nicholas' Island, now Drake's Island

#8. River Tamar crossing – historical and modern

John Speed, *Theatrum ImperiiMagnae Britanniae*
(1611-1612; London: John Sudbury andGeorge Humble, 1616)

The Kingdome of England 364
Cornwall 365
Devonshire 366


MILES
Somerset
Barnstaple
Bideford
Hartland
Stowe
Kilkhampton
Stratton
Launcells
Morchard Bishop
Sampford Courtenay
Mohun's Ottery
Exeter
Devon
Boscarrock
Port Isaac
Padstow
Wadebridge
Launceston
Tavistock
Bodmin
Cornwall
Lanherne
St. Columb Major
Tywardreath
Trematon
Fowey
Plymouth
Totnes
Tehidy
Truro
Clowance
Falmouth
Edgcumbe
Antony
St. Keverne
English Channel

John Leland
Travels through Devon and Cornwall

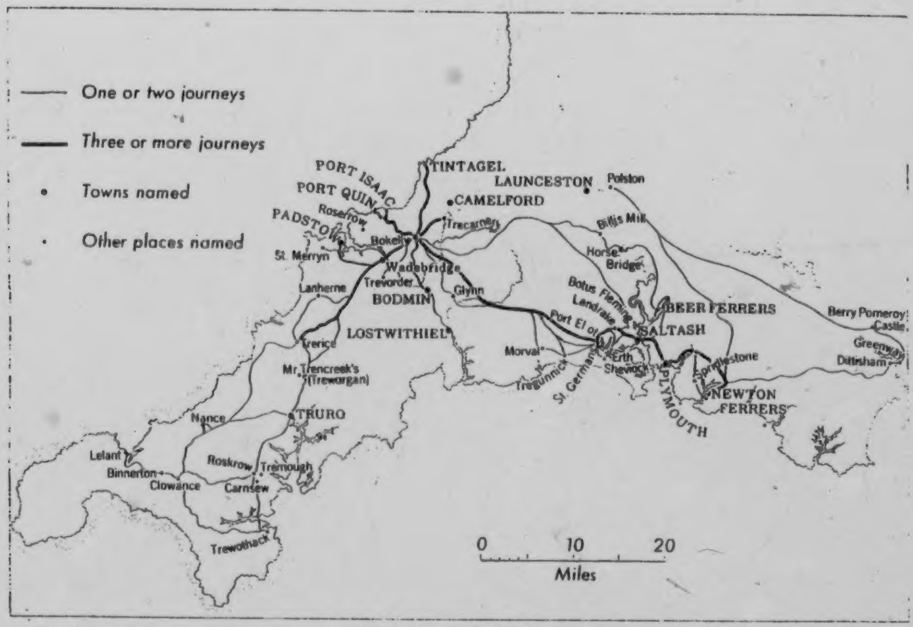
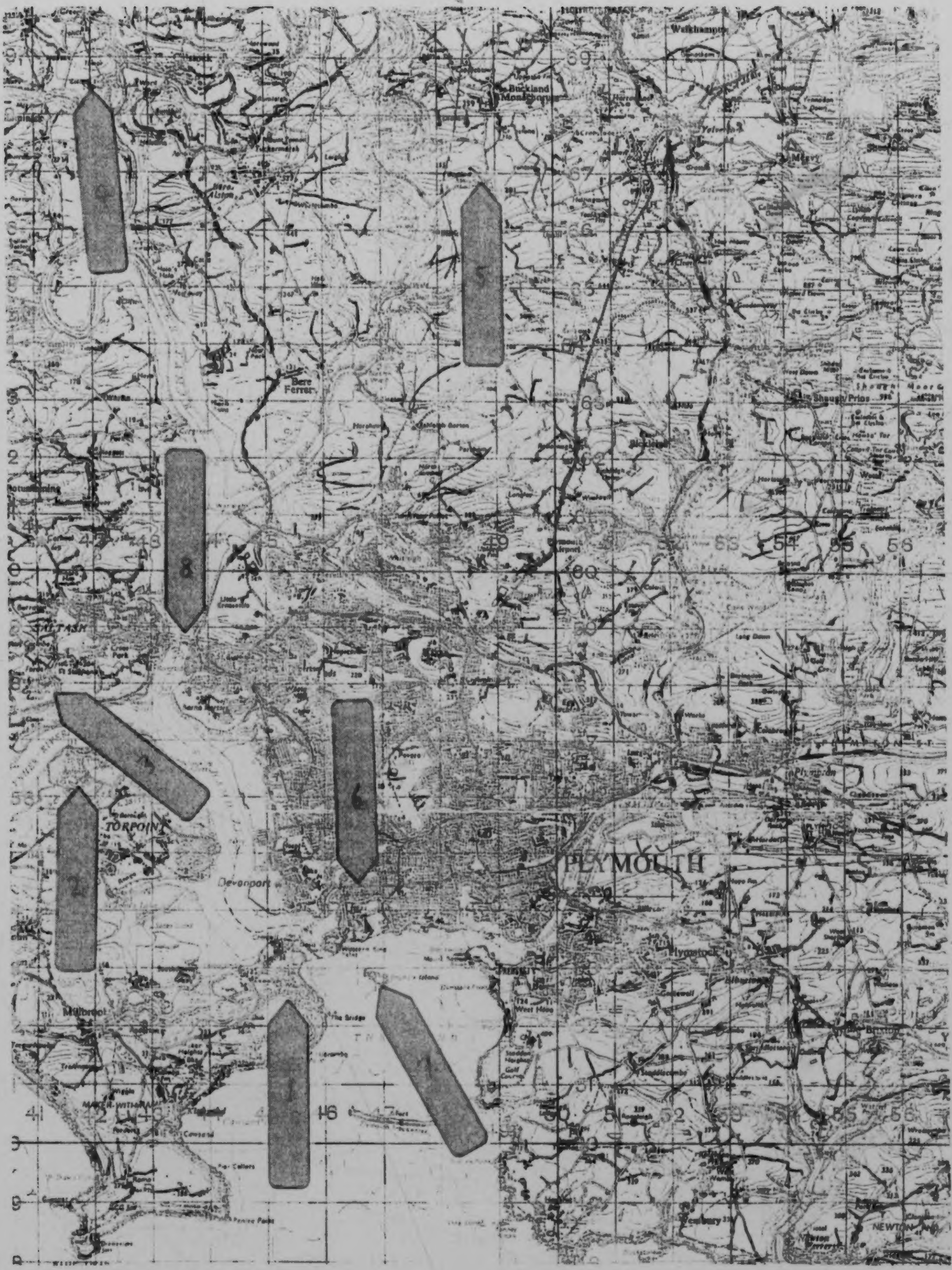
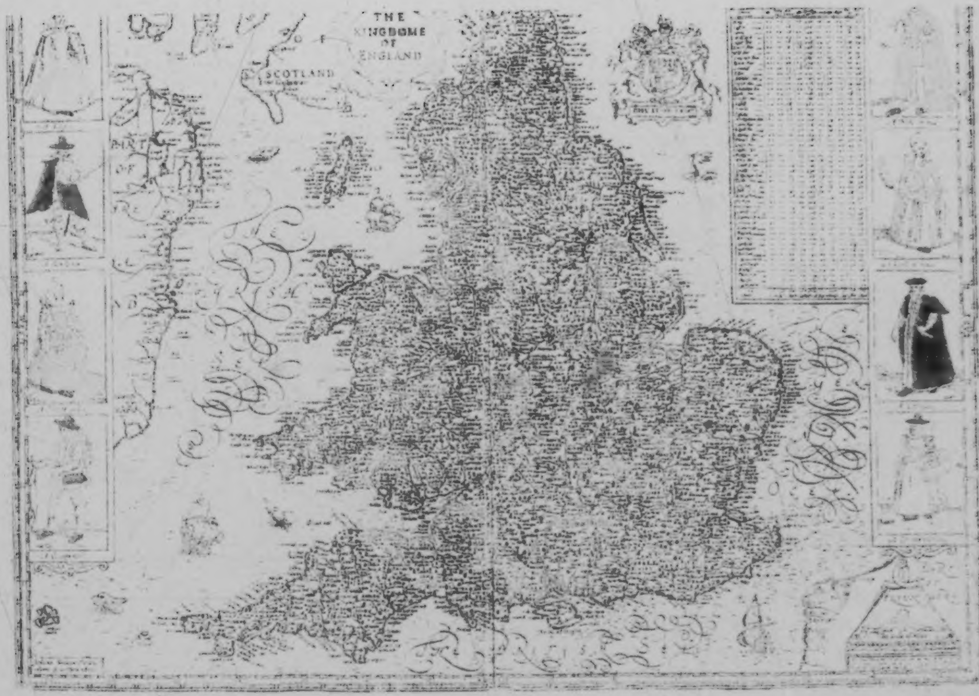
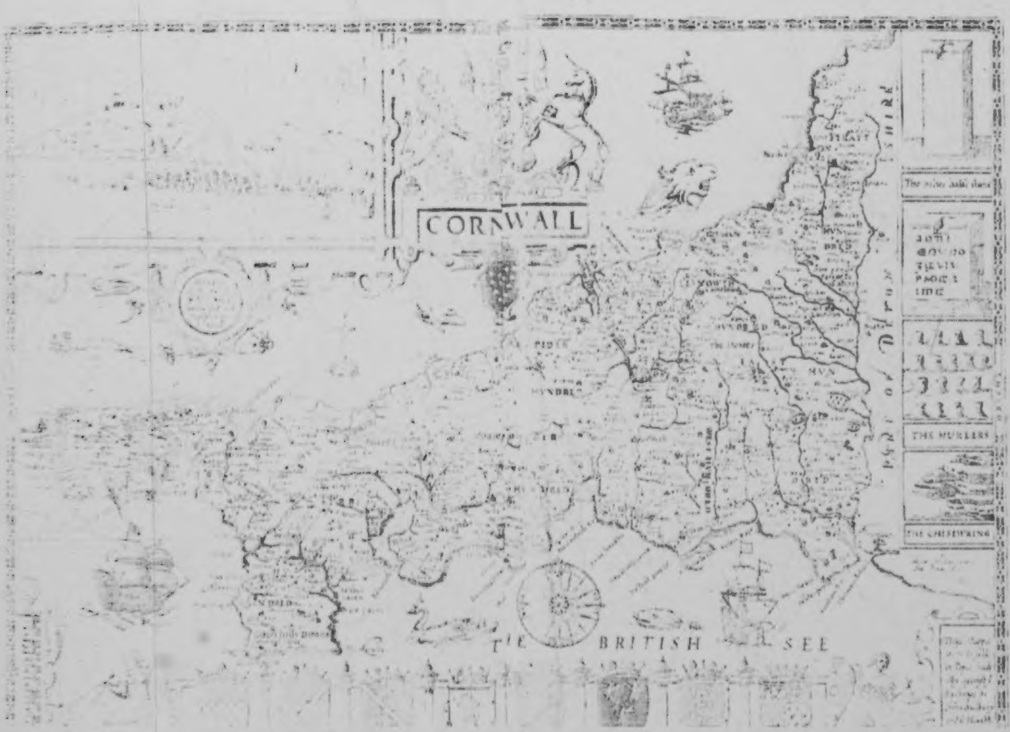
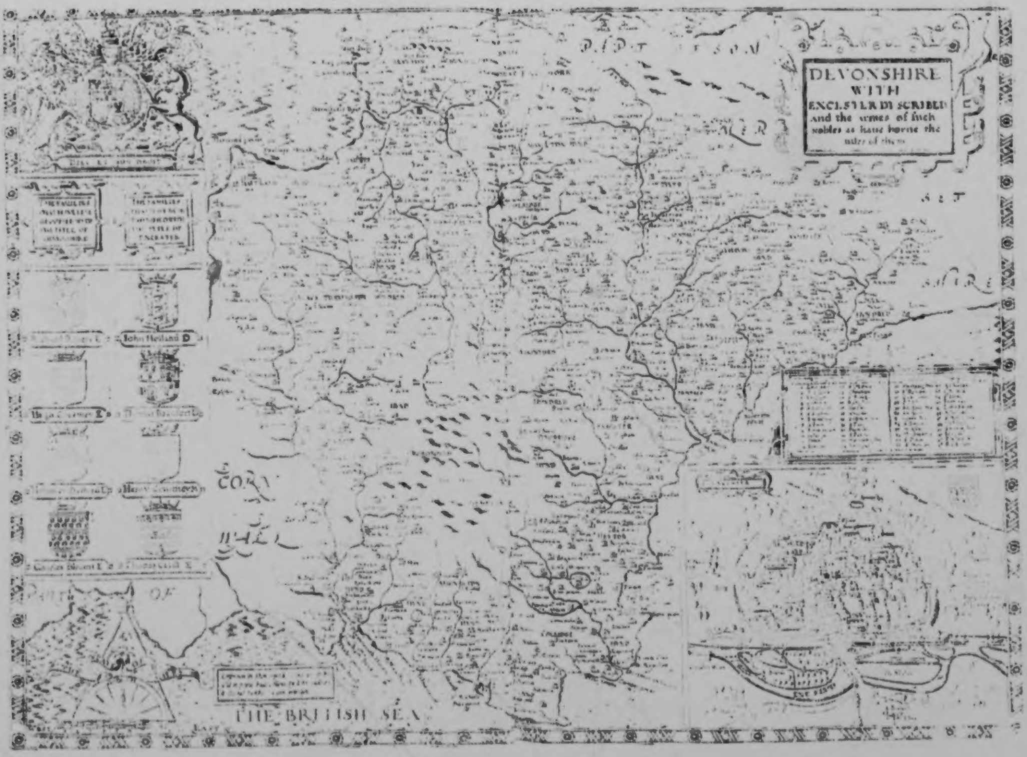

One or two journeys
Three or more journeys
Towns named
Other places named
PORT ISAAC
TINTAGEL
LAUNCESTON
Polston
PORT QUIN
CAMELFORD
Roserrow
Trecarne
PADSTOW
Bokelly
Billis Mill
St. Merryn
Wadebridge
Horse Bridge
Lanherne
Trevorder
Glynn
BODMIN
Botus Fleming
Landrake
BEER FERRERS
Berry Pomeroy Castle
Trerice
LOSTWITHIEL
Port Eliot
SALTASH
Morval
Greenway
Dittisham
Mr. Trencreek's (Treworgan)
Erth
Sheviock
Spriddlestone
Tregunnick
St. Germans
NEWTON FERRERS
PLYMOUTH
Nance
TRURO
Lelant
Binnerton
Roskrow
Tremough
Clowance
Carnsew
Trewothack
0
10
20
Miles

FIG. 3 WILLIAM CARNSEW'S JOURNEYS


Walkhampton
Buckland Monachorum
Bere Ferrers
SALTASH
TORPOINT
Devonport
PLYMOUTH
Millbrook
Plymstock
NEWTON
1
2
4
5
6
7
8


THE KINGDOME OF ENGLAND
SCOTLAND


CORNWALL
THE BRITISH SEE
Part of Devon SHIRE
THE HURLERS
THE CHEESWRING


DEVONSHIRE
WITH
EXCESTER DESCRIBED
and the armes of such
nobles as haue borne the
titles of them
CORN
WALL
THE BRITISH SEA
John Holland D